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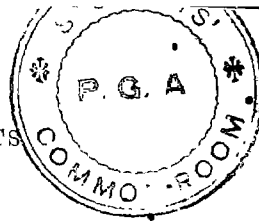
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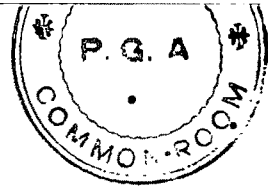
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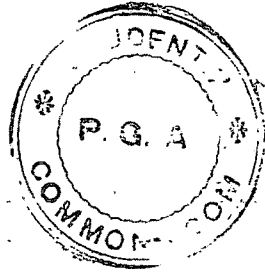
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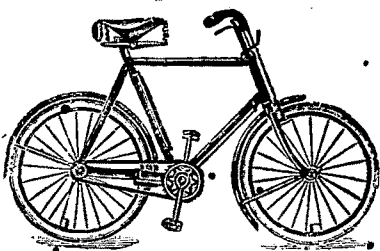
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1929

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## HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION<sup>1</sup>

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I must first offer my congratulations to you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, upon the address you have just delivered, in which you have dealt with several subjects of special interest with great lucidity and evident sincerity. After having heard your address, I feel that no one could accuse you of want of sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of this University, nor want of courage in expressing your convictions upon questions which directly affect its life and progress.

One of the greatest needs of the University is the proper appreciation by all connected with it—whether staff or students—of those primary functions which a successful University should fulfil and their unselfish support of them.

The Vice-Chancellor of this University occupies a position, both difficult and anxious, and involving considerable sacrifice of time and personal convenience. I can echo with great sincerity

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at the Senate House, February 16, 1929.



your appreciation of the services of the late Vice-Chancellor, which I am sure all here desire to acknowledge and place on record.\*

You have respectfully referred to the illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor which has aroused so much concern and sympathy amongst all classes throughout the Empire. I shall be pleased to convey to His Majesty the message from this Convocation of its gratification at His Majesty's progress towards convalescence and its earnest hope for a speedy and complete recovery.

I should like also to join with you in deploring the loss of those eminent sons of this University to whom you have referred. It was my privilege to know personally the Right Hon'ble Lord Sinha, the Right Hon'ble Sir Syed Ameer Ali and Mr. S. R. Das. We are well aware of the prominent part they played in the social and political life of India, and the exceptional services they each rendered not only to their mother country, but also to the Empire.

It is also right that, as Chancellor, I should take this opportunity of endorsing the congratulations which the University offered to Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose upon the attainment of his 70th birthday. Sir Jagadish has gained for himself an unique position amongst international scientists, and the University has every reason to be proud of so eminent a scholar.

The achievements of Professor Raman, of which you have spoken in such felicitous and well-deserved terms, must be a source of great satisfaction and pride to scientists throughout India, and an inspiration to all who study here.

This is the second occasion upon which, as Chancellor of this University, I have had the privilege of addressing you. The lapse of a year has enabled me further to study your problems and difficulties, your traditions and achievements, and it is with this increased understanding and sympathy that I feel I can address to-day, those who have just graduated, and also those on whom the immediate charge of the administration of this University devolves.

To the new graduates I wish to offer a word of congratulation upon their success after long and strenuous endeavour. You, who have won through the trial, may well feel some gratification at the result. You have striven to prepare yourselves for the complex and serious problems of active life by equipping yourselves with knowledge and wisdom. Knowledge without wisdom is dangerous, as wisdom without knowledge is defenceless. In the present state of this country's affairs, at a time full of hope, but not free from anxiety, there is need for those who have been so trained as to be able to prove all things and hold fast to what is good ; to value tradition without being enslaved to it ; to have the courage of their convictions and yet be tolerant towards those of others ; and to reconcile the claims of liberty with those of order. A degree well earned is the outward symbol of qualities of mind and character—a critical and yet receptive habit of thought, a union of knowledge and independence with reverence and respect. These are qualities which it should be the primary function of the University to create.

I believe it has long been recognized that this University of Calcutta in its creative task has been hampered by various obstacles. The nature of these obstacles was exposed in the masterly analysis of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission and it has been a matter of surprise that as a result of that report so little has been done in Calcutta to carry out its proposals. A combination of causes appears to have been responsible. There has been financial stringency, a natural and jealous fear of the University for its autonomy, inevitable differences of opinion and perhaps, I should add, instability of Ministries, which have stood in the way of any radical reforms. But the need for reform has been generally and candidly recognized. It seems clear, for instance, that the admission of thousands of students whose previous training owing to weaknesses of the secondary school system is of the most inadequate character, has tended seriously to lower the standard of University teaching. At the same time the control which the University is called

upon to exercise over secondary schools makes a demand which its organization was not intended to meet. Obviously one of the first needs in any scheme of educational reform must be to release the University from this extraneous obligation, while at the same time securing to it its legitimate share in the fostering of secondary education. It is also necessary to ensure that secondary education shall receive its due share of public money and the advantage of expert control and guidance in order to secure for all boys and girls in high schools a system of general training, which shall not only prepare those who must forthwith work for their livelihood, but also those who are fortunate enough to be able to continue their studies and take advantage of the more exacting opportunities of University education.

It is with these objects that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill has been prepared, on which, I trust, the valuable criticism and sympathetic consideration of the University and the Legislative Council will soon be available.

There is also ample evidence of a general recognition of the need for the reconstruction of the controlling bodies of the University itself. The present constitution has existed almost unchanged for many years, while the scope of University teaching and the range of its responsibilities have enormously increased. From a purely affiliating and examining body, the University has become also a large teaching organization. The number of students under its care has increased rapidly and is now almost double that of the number in all the Indian unitary Universities put together, whilst its authorities have control of the expenditure of 22 lakhs of rupees a year. This remarkable expansion has imposed a strain on the existing organization which becomes every year more and more difficult for it to support. The Calcutta University Commission saw these difficulties and proposed changes of a far-reaching character,—proposals by which most other Universities have hastened to profit, but which hitherto have not been applied to this

University. No one will question the wisdom of moving slowly, nor the right of the University to scrutinize with anxious discrimination any proposals which might infringe its autonomy or impair its efficiency, but it is dangerous to delay too long. The weaknesses to which pointed attention was drawn nearly ten years ago are not likely to improve by undue delay in dealing with them. The only possible advantage that may have accrued is that you have now the benefit of the experience of other Indian Universities which have not hesitated to avail themselves of the recommendations of the Commission. By waiting any longer you will run a great risk of finding that the evils you wish to remedy have become almost irremediable.

As you are aware, the Educational Department have had under preparation during the last few months a comprehensive Bill for the reorganization of the University of Calcutta, based on previous discussions of the needs of the University, as well as the experience that has been obtained at other Universities since the Sadler Commission issued their report. In view of the need for a speedy settlement of the matter, I venture to express my earnest hope that the University authorities will be able to report on the draft proposals that have been referred to them for opinion within the next few months, so that there may be as little further delay as possible in placing definite proposals before the Bengal Legislative Council.

One of the greatest anxieties with which this University is faced is the continued instability of its finances. For many years now the University has been unable to balance income and expenditure, and a succession of deficit budgets has alarmed all those who wish it well. Four years ago the assistance of Government was obtained, and an annual grant of three lakhs of rupees was promised for a term of years, but in spite of this there have been deficits, and the burden of debt is still growing. I recognize that

University education is and must be expensive, and that a University, such as this, has a claim on the good-will and on the purse of the State. This has been recognized in every country. But the claims of other branches of education must not be forgotten, and I think we must face the fact that, whilst Government should always readily contribute its share to the expenditure of the University, it can scarcely be expected to consent to assume a contingent liability. The University asks to be assured of a sufficient income and to be free to spend that income as it considers to be best in the general interest of the University. With this desire, I have much sympathy, but it behoves the University to control its finances with vigilant and thrifty carefulness, so as to be able to avoid that irksome dependance which must be the inevitable corollary of debt. Next year the financial relations between Government and University will again have to be considered, and I am pleased to note that the Senate have appointed a committee to review the whole financial and academic situation. I trust that as a result of their labours the University will be able to produce such evidence of wise economy as will ensure that confidence in their administration which is requisite to further consideration of their claims to continued support from the public purse.

There is another matter deeply affecting the efficiency of the University to which I should like to refer. The annual reports on the Students' Welfare scheme have revealed a condition of things which must profoundly alarm all those interested in the welfare of young Bengal. We are told that only three out of ten students are physically normal, that thousands are suffering from preventable diseases, and that in many cases there is steady deterioration in health and physique during a student's University career. Physical well-being is a necessity of all human activity and a foundation of national prosperity. Thanks to the efforts of the University, the existence and extent

of the evil have now been laid bare. Neither the University nor the public will, I am sure, acquiesce in such an evil when aware of its magnitude, and some well-devised and comprehensive system of treatment and aftercare is a matter of peculiar urgency.

I have heard it said that the life of many of the students in the schools and colleges in this Presidency is joyless and dreary, and I fear there is truth in this assertion. Too frequent examinations bound the horizon of the student and dominate his outlook. He is often educated at the cost of great self-sacrifice on the part of his parents and dependents. To obtain a degree which he fondly hopes will prove the key to a post, becomes naturally an absorbing pre-occupation. What seems to be needed is conditions which would stimulate that joyousness and vitality which go to make youth a golden age. Colleges and Universities do not yet provide those opportunities which they might well do for the full play of the many-sided interests of youth—the enjoyment of healthy physical exercise, the sharpening of mind upon mind, the formation of disinterested friendships. I recognize with thankfulness how much has been done in recent years to make life fuller and happier for the student by the stimulation of interest in games and the provision of facilities for them, as well as by the development of tutorial work and of corporate activities. Much credit is due to the University and the colleges which have striven against odds to improve the conditions of student life, but much still remains to be done. Efforts should be directed towards assuring an education which will make the student a happy and healthy as well as a useful citizen. I believe at the moment there is no sports ground attached to this University which they can call their own. It is a deficiency which ought to be remedied, and it appears to me to offer an opportunity to the well-wishers and would-be benefactors of the University to bestow an inestimable benefit upon it. I shall be pleased to help in this laudable object in every possible way.

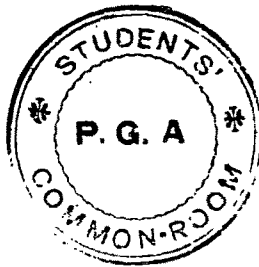
There is one other matter to which I would like to make some reference. For some years past at every Convocation of this University, the Chancellor has had the pleasing duty of conferring its degrees on a small number of women students. Their number grows slowly but steadily. One of the gravest problems that confront the educationist and statesman in India to-day is the cultural disparity between the sexes, which must become more pronounced as the rapid progress in the West towards educational equality strikes the East. One of the most hopeful features of recent years has been the eager interest of educated women in the education of their sex. The spread of education among women is a determining factor in the social progress of the country, and this can only be fully achieved through the guidance and service of educated women themselves. Those women who have graduated to-day should regard themselves as pioneers and missionaries, with an obligation to use their opportunities and qualifications to bring the light of learning within the reach of women in Bengal, and help them to help themselves towards those positions in life which women can well fulfil to the inestimable advantage of the community.

For nearly 70 years the main responsibility for higher education in this province has fallen upon this University. Many of her sons have become famous as Writers, Scientists, Teachers, Lawyers, Doctors and Statesmen. Some have made history, and their names are inscribed in the Roll of Honour. With this great and proud record behind us, we must turn our eyes to the future in which the part this University must play is bound to be even greater than in the past. The springs which feed the fountain of knowledge are active. We must see that every outlet and channel is kept clear and free from choking weeds.

No University education and training can assure individual success, but an obligation rests upon us keeping pace with changes inevitable with progress to strive to provide such

opportunities for the students, which, taken full advantage of, will assure a qualification which cannot be ignored and fit a successful candidate for any branch of service.

That your best endeavours will be given to this task, I have no doubt, and I beg to assure you of my own ready co-operation in a work of such vital importance to the general progress in Bengal.





## EARLY PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCE AS IT DEVELOPED IN THE BRITISH COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA

### THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND FRANCE

#### SECRET AID AND THE ALLIANCE (1776-1778)

#### ENGLAND

1775, August 23, Royal Proclamation stamped uprising in Colonies *Rebellion* and the participants *Traitors*.

December 22, Royal Proclamation declaring American goods contraband and forbidding intercourse with the Rebels.

1776, January, Treaty signed for securing Hessian mercenaries.

August 10, News of the Declaration of Independence published in the *Royal Gazette*, London.

#### AMERICA

1775, November, News of Royal Proclamation reached America. November 29, Committee of Secret Correspondence appointed.

1776, March 3, Silas Deane commissioned by Secret Committee to go to France to secure equipment for army of 25,000 men.

March 16, set sail.

March 23, Congress passed Resolution for fitting out armed cruisers in retaliation for Act of December 22, 1775.

May 10, Congress authorized separate governments in each Colony.

June 8, Resolution of Independence introduced.

July 4, Declaration of Independence voted,

July 8, Committee of Secret Correspondence wrote Deane enclosing copy of Declaration to be presented to French Court with request for an alliance. This packet was lost.

August 7, duplicate sent, arrived September 14; captain forgot to deliver, Deane received it November 17.

September 17, Congress passed scheme of Treaties.

September 26, Commissioners to France appointed.

October 26, Franklin sailed for France.

1777, March 17, *Amphitrite*, first of 8 ships of Secret Aid, reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire. *Mercury*, a month later. *Seine* captured by British. Four others went to French West Indies; cargoes reshipped. *Flammand*, last Secret Aid ship arrived New Hampshire.

October 17, victory of Saratoga.

#### FRANCE

1775, September 8, Bonvouloir, unofficial observer, sent to America.

December 1, he arrived in Philadelphia where he had long conversations with Franklin and other members of Secret Committee.

September 23, Beaumarchais began American activities by permission of the King.

1776, February 27, Report of Bonvouloir arrived from Philadelphia.

March 12, first Council of War called by M. de Vergennes.

March 14, Spain wrote approval of Secret Aid and offered to contribute.

April 22, Louis XVI signed order to renew and augment French Marine.

May 2, King signed bill setting aside a million livre for Secret Aid.

June 10, Beaumarchais received the million.

July, Silas Deane had first audience with Vergennes.

August 11, Beaumarchais was given the Spanish million contributed for Secret Aid.

August 31, Second Council of War called by M. de Vergennes.

October 15, Secret Aid Contract signed by Beaumarchais and Silas Deane.

November 20, Deane formally presented Declaration to French Court.

December 4, Benj. Franklin arrived.

December 21, reached Paris.

1777, April, second attempt by Choiseul party to displace M. de Vergennes.

April 12, sent memoir stating policy.

July 23, definite decision reached; Spain asked to join Alliance.

December 4, News of victory of Saratoga reached France.

1778, February 6, FRENCH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE signed.

Among the authorities cited in the following pages *Burnett* stands for *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* by Edward Burnett; and *Doniol* for *La Participation de la France dans l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis*, by Henri Doniol.

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Momentous for the cause of American Independence were the happenings on both sides of the Atlantic which, reciprocally unknown and apparently unrelated to one another, reached a climax during the spring of 1776.

The early phase of the Colonial struggle marked by petitions to the King for redress of grievances, was dominated by the idea of an eventual reconciliation with England. The Royal Proclamation of August 23, 1775,<sup>1</sup> which was the King's answer

<sup>1</sup> See *London Gazette*, issue of August 22-27, 1775.

to these petitions, stamped the uprising as *rebellion* and the participants as *traitors*. It was this act that turned the insurrection of the Colonists into revolt. News of the Proclamation did not reach them until November. Immediately on grasping the significance of the situation three matters of "capital importance"<sup>1</sup> began to agitate the minds of the leaders in Congress: confederation among the colonies, independence from England, and foreign alliances. Out of the heated discussion that arose came one practical result: Congress appointed a Secret Committee for the purpose of "corresponding with friends in Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world." This Committee, of which Dr. Franklin was a leading member, came into being November 29, 1775.<sup>2</sup> During the next ten months it handled everything that came up touching our relations with Foreign Powers. Because of the mixed loyalties in the body of Congress the acts of the Committee were kept strictly secret; chief among them was the sending of Silas Deane, a merchant and delegate from Connecticut, direct to the Court of France. Among the commissions given him was that of securing the military equipment for an army of 25,000 men. His going, as it was unknown to the main body of Congress, caused at the time neither comment nor criticism. When the fact leaked out several months later, intense personal jealousies added their bitterness to the already pronounced division in Congress respecting the desirability of seeking French aid.<sup>3</sup>

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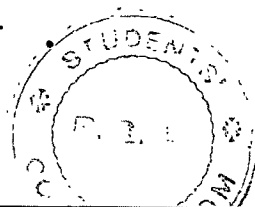
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On the whole the winter of 1776 proved a trying one to the leaders in Congress who were working for Independence; the hope of winning Canada had faded; France, too lately an enemy to inspire confidence, was not popular as an ally, while sentiments of loyalty to England were stirring in many a breast.

<sup>1</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, no. 694, n. 4, p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Journals of Congress for 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Deane Papers, Vol. I, p. 123 et seq.



The outcome seemed at times more than doubtful. Then suddenly, like claps of thunder, news came of one act of Parliament after another which finally roused the whole body to indignant protest and gave the friends of liberty their chance. Early in March<sup>1</sup> it was learned that by an Act of the previous December, American goods had been declared contraband and all intercourse with the Colonists forbidden. When a counter-act was first suggested in Congress violent scenes ensued, the discussion lasting ten days. At length, on March 23, a resolution was reached, one destined to be of prodigious moment, for it was the first official step taken by Congress in the path leading direct to Independence.<sup>2</sup> This resolution authorized the fitting out of "armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of these United Colonies." In May came other news still more alarming; Hessian troops, about whose employ rumor had long agitated the country, were actually enlisted and embarked for America! England then permitted the use of foreign mercenaries to fight against her own flesh and blood! This was too much. By May<sup>3</sup> 10, the whole body of Congress was ready for the second step, which took the form of a resolution that the several Colonies should institute for themselves such forms of government as to them should appear necessary.<sup>4</sup> On June 8, the resolution of independence was brought forward for the first time and with it a scheme of treaty to be proposed to France.<sup>5</sup> All talk of reconciliation with the mother-country was henceforth at an end. The Revolution had begun.

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<sup>1</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, no. 567, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of Congress*, for 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, no. 676, p. 470.

<sup>4</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, no. 637, n. 2, pp. 445-446. John Adams in his *Autobiography* says: "Mr. Duane called it a 'machine for the fabrication of independence,'" to this Adams replied: "I think it is independency itself, but we must have it with more formality yet." In another place he calls it "the most important resolution that ever was taken in America."

<sup>5</sup> *Journals of Congress*.

While these events were transpiring in America, the Comte de Vergennes, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had not been idle. Immediately informed by his London representative of the Royal Proclamation of August 23, he had clearly foreseen the effect it would have upon the leaders in Congress. "The Proclamation," he wrote the ambassador a few days later, ".....changes completely the value of the measures we have been pursuing and destroys without question all the hopes of conciliation we have still cherished...."<sup>1</sup>

The need for authoritative information had already induced the Minister to permit an unofficial observer, being sent to Philadelphia, M. de Bonvouloir. He set out in the middle of September, 1775 and reached his destination on the first of December.<sup>2</sup> Beaumarchais,<sup>3</sup> recalled to Paris by

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, pp. 173-174.

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre-August Garon de Beaumarchais (1732-1799).

One of the most brilliantly gifted Frenchmen of his age. His father's name was Charles Caron, a watchmaker by trade who brought up his son to follow that profession. From his eighteenth year the young Caron applied himself so diligently that at the age of twenty-one he was member of the Royal Society and "Watchmaker to the King." Equally gifted for music he attracted the attention of the daughters of the King and was honored before he was twenty-five, by being made director of their amusements. At the end of four years' service in the Royal household he was rewarded by being brought into touch with one of the great financiers of the age, Paris du Verney, for whom he was able to perform a signal service and who in turn made the fortune of the young man, associating him in great enterprises like furnishing the army with provisions, etc. Several years previously, young Caron had married a wealthy wife, who died a few months later of a sudden illness and whose fortune was lost to him. From her estates he had taken the name of *de Beaumarchais* which indeed was worth more to him than any fortune.

Up to 1770 the world had done nothing but smile upon him. At that time, rich, happy in a second marriage, having provided handsomely for every member of his family, father, sisters, nieces, he thought of nothing, but settling down to the delights of social life and cultivating his dramatic talents. Suddenly however things began to change; the wheel of fortune was reversed for him; his wife and little son both died and about the same time, Paris du Verney. A nephew of the latter who had all along been jealous of Beaumarchais and who had inherited his uncle's fortune, set himself to bring about the ruin of the man he hated. For a time it seemed that he had succeeded. Caught in the meshes of a criminal law-suit with all his property in the hands of his adversary, Beaumarchais' cause seemed so desperate that no lawyer could be found who would plead his

the event of August 23, was authorized to present his first memoir to the King. He returned to London on September 23, "well instructed," so he wrote the Minister, of the King's intentions and your own...."<sup>1</sup> Although no indications have been found as to exactly what those intentions were, it is certain that the active intervention of Beaumarchais in French-American affairs dates from this trip to London. From that day forward the Minister was never without precise information regarding the Colonies, gathered by the versatile author of the *Barbier*<sup>2</sup> from Arthur Lee and other Americans or their partisans in London.

cause for him. It was at this moment that his genius was revealed to him; he saw at once that he was to be his own lawyer and from the judges before him he appealed to the people—"that judge of judges,"—and won popular applause while the Parliament passed upon him the dreadful sentence of "*biâme*," that is, took from him his civil rights and rendered him incapable of functioning as a citizen. In this dilemma nothing was open to him but the secret service of the King. Louis XV, about to die, sent Beaumarchais to London on a mission and Louis XVI continued him there. It was the moment of the first uprisings among the Colonists to whom the heart of the civilly degraded man went out all the more ardently because of the wrongs he himself had suffered. To the genius of Beaumarchais America owes the success of *Secret Aid* which in turn made possible the French-American Alliance.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Two dramas had been written by Beaumarchais before 1770 which had attained a certain popularity in Paris. His great success however was in his comedy, *The Barbier de Seville*. It had been approved and was announced for the 13 February, 1773. Two days before that date the blow had fallen which ended nine months later in the loss of his property and citizenship. The play was set aside and was not produced until the winter of 1775. Its success was overwhelming. Nothing like it had been known up to that time in the annals of the theatre. It was soon translated into the chief cultural languages of Europe and later Mozart made it into an opera. It still continues to delight, besides being used as a classic in the schools.

From 1775 onward Beaumarchais was often familiarly spoken of as "the Barbier"; indeed the hero, the inimitable Figaro, was Beaumarchais personified.

"Welcomed in one city, imprisoned in another, and everywhere superior to events; praised by those, *blamed* by those, enduring evil, making fun of the stupid, braving the wicked, laughing at misery and saving all the world, you see me at last in Madrid."

*The Count*—"Who gave thee so gay a philosophy?"

*Figaro*—"The habit of misfortune; I hasten to laugh at every thing so as not to be obliged to weep."

The sequel to the *Barbier* was the "*Mariage de Figaro*," first played in 1786. *Figaro* had now come to represent the *Tiers etat*; his appearance was a political event of the most profound significance (see *infra*, last page).

February 27, 1776 came the first *Report* of Bonvouloir direct from Philadelphia which gave an account of long conversations held with Franklin and other members of the Secret Committee. Its whole tone was "singularly proper to hasten decisions."<sup>1</sup>

Two weeks later, March 12, 1776, M. de Vergennes called the first Council of War. It was presided over by the King and was composed of the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Finance, War and Navy, to whom the Minister of Foreign Affairs submitted a memoir prepared for the occasion, where, under the title *Considerations*, the present situation was studied and a policy of intervention prepared. Each Minister was asked to reply in writing giving his views. With the exception of M. Turgot,<sup>2</sup> Minister of Finance, all were in favor of aiding the Americans.<sup>3</sup> A few days later a confidential letter from the Marquis de Grimaldi arrived setting forth the maxim of the Spanish King<sup>4</sup> that "the right as well as the interest of the two Crowns was on the side of aiding the English Colonies, at least," said the Minister, "if that can be done in a way not to be imputed to us." Thus the scruples of Louis XVI regarding the principles underlying Secret Aid were over-ruled and on April 22 he placed his *approuvé* to a series of orders commanding that there be prepared "in the ports of Brest and Toulon everything necessary for the immediate equipment" of twenty vessels of the line and as many frigates, and at the same time requiring that "the Ministers of Marine and Finance concert effective measures to supply the arsenals with everything necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Deniol, Vol. I, pp. 265 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The great Turgot based his objections on the ground that it was unnecessary for France to intervene since Colonies were like "ripe fruit" that inevitably must fall when the time came. "All Colonies," he said, "were destined to part from the Mother country and all subject peoples to emancipate themselves."

<sup>3</sup> Deniol, Vol. I, pp. 273 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Deniol, Vol. I, pp. 370-371.



replenish and augment the French Navy." <sup>1</sup> Thus the first official step of France towards a French-American Alliance followed within a month that of the Continental Congress towards independence. The second official step was taken when Louis XVI signed the bill setting aside a million livres for "the service of the Colonies." The date of this was May 2, more than a month before Congress brought forward a scheme of Treaty to be offered to France.

The following day, May 3, M. de Vergennes in a confidential letter to the Marquis de Grimaldi, after announcing the above *act* spoke as follows of the Spanish King's offer contained in the letter of March 14:

Your Excellency [he said] has informed us that the Catholic King will willingly aid in the expenses incurred in sending help to the Americans. The King will not consent that the King his Uncle contribute to the million which he has set apart for this object, but if the Catholic King is disposed to liberality and believes that we are better fitted to make this aid reach its destination with less suspicion than by means which he could procure in his States, Your Excellency will find me at his orders for anything that may please the King his Master to decide. <sup>2</sup>

It goes without saying that the above gift was motivated by a profound distrust of England and a desire to support the insurrection in America because it was against the common enemy. Although France was far from being in a position to declare openly for Congress, it is clear that M. de Vergennes already foresaw this eventuality for in the same letter of May 3, he said "...Although up to the present we have not permitted ourselves to enter into any sort of relations, even indirect, with the Americans, yet we have allowed them to enjoy every kind of facility in our ports which they could procure for themselves in the way of commerce, *closing our eyes to the kind of materials*

<sup>1</sup> Dogniol, Vol. I, p. 345; quoted from summary, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Dogniol, Vol. I, pp. 374 *et seq.*

*which they took away*<sup>1</sup> (italics inserted). For the time being this sufficed; but now the crisis having become more urgent it seems the part of wisdom to do something more than simply to accord them tolerance..... We must not lose sight, M., of the possibility of the time coming when it will be important for us to find stepping-stones already laid enabling us to form liaisons ouvertes with this people'' (italics inserted).<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing statement it is clear that M. de Vergennes was ready to meet the Americans fully half way when the time came that they as a body desired it. As yet only a few of the most advanced leaders in Congress had begun to think, even vaguely, in terms of Europe. John Adams since November 1775 had advocated foreign alliances and in season and out of season had urged the necessity of forming friendly relations with France. Undoubtedly he did much towards eliminating prejudices and advanced the day when such a measure could be passed in Congress,<sup>3</sup> but he was opposed to entering into any political connection with that country, desiring "nothing but commerce, a mere marine treaty with her."<sup>4</sup>

It was Benjamin Franklin who from past experience and connections was best fitted to be the exponent of an all-round effective foreign policy. Though he seldom spoke either in committee or in Congress,<sup>5</sup> his influence made itself felt, and in nothing so much as in whatever touched our relation to Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 463. The beginning of June, 1776 the British Minister of Foreign Affairs said to the French Chargé d'Affaires: "I know that a great quantity of powder leaves your islands for America; that the American vessels transport it under the French flag; I know it positively and beyond the possibility of a doubt."

<sup>2</sup> In this connection there is an interesting article by O. W. Stephenson published in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1925, on the Gunpowder supply of the Revolution. The article, remarkably complete from the American side, does not touch the European sources: Doniol, Stevens' Facsimiles or even the Deane's Papers. Moreover the chief paragraph (p. 280) is not only inadequate, it is misleading.

<sup>3</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, p. 351, par. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, p. 502, No. 727.

<sup>6</sup> Burnett, Vol. II, p. 16, n.

Early in September there reached him from a Paris acquaintance a letter which, arriving at a psychological moment, was of immense significance in the development of a more friendly feeling towards France. It was from Dr. Dubourg<sup>1</sup> and not only breathed warm enthusiasm for the cause of American freedom, but held out hopes of help from the Government of France.<sup>2</sup> The letter was immediately translated and sent to Washington at the head of the army where its encouraging message was greatly needed.<sup>3</sup> In Congress it undoubtedly hastened the resolution for appointing Commissioners to the Court of France which took place September 26, the scheme of Treaties having been voted for two weeks earlier.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Franklin was the only one of the Commissioners then in America; therefore he set out for Europe accompanied only by his two grand-children. Sailing from Philadelphia, October 27, he reached the coast of France, December 4, 1776; after a short sojourn at Nantes he journeyed on to Paris where he arrived December 21.<sup>5</sup>

Although the presence of Dr. Franklin at the Court of France proved to be essential to the success of the Alliance, it was not his coming that influenced the policy of M. de Vergennes. In a matter of such vital moment it was the attitude of the whole body of Congress that was the determining factor. Two weeks before the arrival of the venerable philosopher in France the last doubts of the French Minister had been allayed. For more than three months the Declaration of American Independence had been known in Europe and yet in all that time no special notification had reached the Court of France. It looked as though Congress had no intention of asking for French

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Barbeau Dubourg was a French physician and scientist who in 1751 had translated Benjamin Franklin's treatise on electricity which was published by Buffon and produced a great sensation in France.

<sup>2</sup> Force, *American Archives*, Vol. VI, p. 771.

<sup>3</sup> Papers of Washington, Library of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> *Journals of Congress*.

<sup>5</sup> Deane Papers, Vol. I, p. 433.

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help.<sup>1</sup> The Secret Committee even seemed to have forgotten that they had an agent in Paris. The situation for Silas Deane at the Court of France was one of inexpressible anxiety, but he was equal to the emergency and sustained the American cause during this trying period in such a way that had he been "*un ambassadeur de carriere*," he could not have done better.<sup>2</sup> Finally, on November 17, a packet arrived, one which had lain two months undelivered in Europe, and so the whole mystery was explained. It contained a copy of the Declaration and a letter instructing him to make the contents known to the French Court and to "the other Powers of Europe."<sup>3</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> November, the formal presentation took place.

<sup>1</sup> According to the principles of International Law laid down by Catholic Divines in the 16th Century and familiar to M. de Vergennes (indeed deeply studied and conscientiously applied by him) it is said "in absence of the desire expressed or implicit no State may intervene." (J. B. Scott, Summary of principles laid down by Suarez, *Spanish Origin of International Law*, p. 81.) Again, America must declare its independence before France could take open cognizance of it as a Power, for "Only a Sovereign State can declare war; resistance before that act would be sedition." (*Ibid*, p. 26.) In his *Considerations* (Doniol, Vol. I, p. 277) M. de Vergennes says: "Neither the dignity of the King nor his interest permit him to enter into a pact with the Insurgents...Such a pact in truth would be worthless until they had rendered themselves independent and shown a disposition to remain firm." (Vergennes to Garnier, Doniol, Vol. I, p. 644, n. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 644.

<sup>3</sup> Deane Papers, Vol. I, pp. 358, 371 and S. Facsimiles, pp. 592-593 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Up to the present American historians, and indeed all historians of the American Revolution, have failed to take note of one all-important fact (based upon a vital principle of international law, and one that is applicable universally). France was forced to wait for three things to happen before she could openly intervene: (1) The Colonies by their own initiative and in face of all obstacles must definitely separate themselves from the Mother Country as far as that was humanly possible not only by their act of declaration but by maintaining an unshakable determination and will to suffer any thing rather than yield; (2) they must definitely ask help and themselves lay down conditions which they had undoubtedly the purpose to fulfill, and (3) they must show by their actions before the fact that integrity and perseverance in their object could be relied upon.

The first of the above points was made clear by the declaration of Independence and by the energy with which the early preparations for resistance were carried out. The second was answered when the American envoy was in a position to present the Declaration as coming from Congress and found himself authorized by that body to definitely ask help from France. The third was satisfied when by their own efforts was brought about the

But it was the *act* of the Declaration that was the determining factor in the policy of M. de Vergennes. News reached England on August 10, from Tory sources ; and it was published the same day in the *London Gazette*. The *Chargé d’Affaires* informed the French Minister on the 13th of August.<sup>1</sup> On August 31, M. de Vergennes called the second Council of War and laid before them a program calling for “preparation for an early war whose actual date shall remain subject to events.”<sup>2</sup> No objection was offered by any member of the Council ; it remained therefore to obtain the co-operation of Spain ; or at least to inform the Spanish Court and await her reply. Before this arrived more than a month was to elapse and in the meantime news of the defeat of Long Island had brought such discouragement into the Cabinet of the King that M. de Vergennes was obliged to fall back upon *l’expectative vigilante* ; this all the more as Spain showed no disposition to hasten events and seemed inclined to demand the intervention of France in her private quarrel with Portugal as price of open co-operation with the English Colonies and France. In summing up the situation for the King, on October 26, 1776, M. de Vergennes observed : “.....all that present circumstances seem to require of the foresight of Your Majesty and that of the Catholic King is not to permit the Americans to succumb through lack of means

victory of Saratoga. Therefore the determination of the Americans to be self-helpful was a primary condition of securing the help of France. In this way the value of the work of the early patriots cannot be over-estimated. There is however danger for any nation struggling, as was America, to over-estimate the value of its own efforts. Without secret aid—the actual material sinews of war supplied by the genius of Beaumarchais with the co-operation of the American envoys and with permission and aid of the French Government—America must have early given up all hope of prolonged resistance. The moral value of the friendly feeling of France must also be taken into consideration ; the certainty that if they made good, France would help effectively, was a stimulant that carried the leaders through the worst of all the difficulties that beset them. These were the great aids which were given before the Alliance was formed and which were the means by which the Colonists helped themselves on to the road to success,

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, Chapter XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 577.

of resistance.”<sup>1</sup> The “means of resistance” indicated by the Minister was precisely the Secret Aid now thoroughly organized under the effective management of the author of the *Barbier de Seville*.

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At the time of the setting aside of the million livres “for the service of the Colonies,” it had not been decided what form this service should take. The vigorous carrying out of the King’s orders for April 22, very soon had the effect of clearly pointing a way to the solution of the problem. Before Beaumarchais, immediately notified by M. de Vergennes, had returned from London, so much discarded war material had accumulated in the arsenals and forts that he at once saw the advantage for everyone concerned to buy this material at a minimum price from the Department of War and ship it to the insurgents. To render the transaction safe for the Government it was determined that the enterprising *Barbier* should himself become merchant and banker, assuming all the risks and perils of the task in return for a certain protection and such subsidies and indemnities as circumstances should decide. It was on those conditions that the million livres were turned over to him on June 10 and the operations of the famous House of Roderigue Hortalez and Co., were ready to begin. Early in July Silas Deane arrived from America with the commission from the Secret Committee and during the course of his first interview with the Minister Deane was informed that a trusty merchant would call upon him next day and he was given to understand that the Government would not interfere in anything that was decided between them. The merchant indicated was of course Beaumarchais. From the first meeting of these two men they were seized with a perfect fever of activity and never was

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. I, p. 620.

so difficult a business undertaking conducted with greater ability and address.

During the year which followed, in spite of difficulties of every kind, disloyalty from employees, treachery from officers, constant interference by the British Ambassador and hampering restrictions imposed by the French Government, eight ship-loads of supplies were despatched to America, only one of which fell into the hands of the British. The names of the ships were the *Amphitrite*, *Mercury*, *Seine*, *Amélie*, *Thérèse*, *La Mère Bobi*, *Marié Cathérine*, and *Le Flammand*. Their cargoes represented, including the cost of shipping, 6,274,844 livres tournois.<sup>1</sup>

As it was these supplies which alone made possible the American campaign of 1777, ending in the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, their importance can hardly be over-estimated, and yet up to the present little attention has been given the matter by American historians.

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From the very beginning, however, Secret Aid, so far as America is concerned, was fated to bring nothing but ruin upon the two men chiefly responsible for its success. The *proximate* cause of this ruin was Arthur Lee,<sup>2</sup> the *real* cause was the determined and persistent support given him by two of the most influential leaders in Congress, his brother Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams. The inordinate, though subtly veiled, ambition of Samuel Adams to maintain the lead

<sup>1</sup> The detailed bill is among the Robert Morris Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. The whole account can be verified in Journals of Congress for 1778.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners appointed by Congress to reside at the Court of France, where his presence caused all but irreparable damage to the cause of the Alliance. It was his object, supported by the *Opposition* in Congress, to discredit Franklin as well as Deane and leave Lee in entire possession of the field. This would have meant failure for the Alliance and reconciliation with Great Britain. Samuel Adams and the Lees would then have been the great men of the situation, "saviors of their country" and so forth.

which was his in the preliminary struggle, led to this tripartite combination. It envisioned nothing less than complete dominance in Congress, control of foreign relations and the subordination of the army. Franklin and Washington were the two obstacles barring the way to success; therefore the anti-French propaganda and the Conway Cabal<sup>1</sup> of 1777. The real end of the party that soon formed about these leaders was secret reconciliation with England upon such advantageous terms as could be drawn from a skilful playing with the Declaration of Independence and the French Alliance. Blocked in their attempts to eliminate Franklin and Washington, they hit out blindly and secretly against lesser men in the desperate hope to retain control. Among the victims of these hidden attacks were Silas Deane, Philip Schuyler, Nathanael Green, and Benedict Arnold.

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Silas Deane's misfortunes began when news first leaked out of his French mission. The Secret Committee which sent him had been created during a period of struggle when political rivalry ran so high that New England delegates were omitted from its make-up<sup>2</sup>: hence from the very beginning there was a determination to treat as non-existent the acts of the Committee for that period. Thus in regard to Deane, the party of *the Opposition*, as the French Minister Gérard later called it,<sup>3</sup> took the stand that Deane had acted without official sanction.<sup>4</sup> Arthur Lee's message, brought to America by Thomas Story in September 1776, where he took to himself the credit of having planned Secret Aid with Beaumarchais before the arrival of Deane, strengthened them in their attitude.<sup>5</sup> After Deane's return to

<sup>1</sup> The "Conway Cabal" is the name given to the plan formulated by the same party in Congress to remove the Commander-in-chief and put the army under a General favorable to the plans of the *Opposition*.

<sup>2</sup> Burnett, Vol. I, p. 265, no. 276, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See French Alliance Transcripts, MSS. Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> See note, *Journals of Congress*, Vol. VIII, p. 721.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the United States*, by Timothy Pitkins, Appendix, no. 26, p. 521.



America this party by evasion and subterfuge succeeded in preventing him from appearing in his own defence before Congress, until, at length, driven to desperation by the tactics employed against him, he came out in an open attack upon Arthur Lee which he published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for December 5, 1778. Unfortunately for Deane this act put the desired weapons in the hands of his enemies ;<sup>1</sup> in revenge for the attack his testimony was suppressed,<sup>2</sup> his accounts treated as mere figures traced on paper, and without a word of approval or censure. Congress in the end dropped him as though he and his work had never existed. He was left to eat his heart out in misery and poverty in a foreign land, deserted even by his friends. As for Beaumarchais, he fared a little better at the hands of Congress, for his claim was admitted to partial payment in 1779,<sup>3</sup> but in the end Arthur Lee and his associates succeeded in so aspersing the character of their "friend," as Beaumarchais called himself, that final settlement was refused and for one hundred and fifty years his name has been omitted from our histories as though it were that of a dishonest adventurer.

\* \* \*

In France, although his interests were never actually abandoned by M. de Vergennes, Secret Aid served Beaumarchais

<sup>1</sup> See Tom Paine's version of the controversy in the centennial edition of his works. Ten volumes.

<sup>2</sup> *Yale University Library Gazette* for April, 1928, Vol. II, no. 4, pp. 54 *et seq.* In the above *Gazette* appears for the first time the suppressed portion of Deane's testimony together with two unpublished letters, one from Benjamin Franklin to Deane and the other to Mr. Holker in Philadelphia from Franklin's Paris host, M. Le Ray de Chaumont, the first dated April 7, 1778 and the other March 20, of that year. The latter says of Deane: "He has a peculiar claim to the regard of his country, as on his arrival here he had every thing to do ; to establish credit, to inspire confidence, to overcome prejudice," etc., etc.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journals of Congress*, Forty-six of the three hundred Bills of Exchange issued by Congress at this time to Beaumarchais' credit have been sent to the Library of Congress by the present head of the family, and are in the MSS. div. of the Library of Congress under U. S. Finance.

fortune little better than it did in America. In truth, secret aid, which was forced upon the Minister by circumstances, was always distasteful to him; he tolerated it but with the intention of discarding it at the first possible opportunity. To Beaumarchais, whose genius specially fitted him for such undertakings and into which he had thrown the whole force of his being in order to make it succeed, secret aid seemed an essential part of the Alliance itself. In reality, however, it was so to speak only the scaffolding by means of which the permanent structure was reared.

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The return to "watchful waiting," while permitting the means of continued resistance to reach America signaled by M. de Vergennes in his memoir of October 26, was not destined to be of long continuance. The direct appeal from Congress delivered in proper form by Silas Deane to the Court of Versailles on the 20th November 1776, was in itself decisive. The arrival of Benjamin Franklin in France two weeks later strengthened the American cause in Europe, but at the same time added infinitely to the embarrassment of M. de Vergennes. The wild enthusiasm of the populace, heightened almost to frenzy by the sudden departure for America of the Marquis de Lafayette, was utilized by the enemies of the Minister to make it appear that the Government was doing nothing during this important crisis. These enemies, the Choiseul<sup>1</sup> party in a word,

<sup>1</sup> The Duc de Choiseul, Minister of Louis XV, was considered one of the most brilliant of French statesmen. He had been forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of 1763 by which France lost Canada, her Indian possessions, Senegal in Africa and many islands. Besides, the Treaty compelled France to destroy her flourishing seaport of Dunkirk and to tolerate the presence of an English Commissioner on the spot in order to prevent its rebuilding. From that moment Choiseul directed the whole force of his genius to the task of bringing about conditions that would restore the prestige of France and humble the pride of England. He saw the American Colonies as the means to this end and for the next five years worked indefatigably to promote friendly feelings among the Colonists to France and to prepare his country so that she would be ready to join in some future war which he

sought on one hand to win Franklin to their views and on the other to work on the mind of the King through Marie Antoinette; they assured themselves of popular support by promising immediate war upon England if once they were able to assume the reins of power.<sup>1</sup> The occasion selected for the outbreak was the visit of the Queen's brother, Joseph II of Austria.

Louis XVI remained immovable in his attachment to his Minister; the incident had, however, one practical result. M. de Vergennes took occasion to put before the King a re-examination of the political position of France in Europe and a restatement of the ends towards which the policy of his reign should tend. The pertinence here of this document, "one more deeply imbued with the insight of true statesmanship than any

foresaw would be inevitable. All these preparations, known as "The Secret Diplomacy of Louis XV" were of incalculable value to the work of the Ministry of Louis XVI. Choiseul who had lost his place at the end of the reign of Louis XV hoped to be recalled to power at the advent of Louis XVI. In this he was disappointed. Louis XVI was a deeply religious man and Choiseul was anti-clerical; moreover he was responsible for the expulsion of the Jesuits from France during the last reign and the entire Royal family were opposed to him. A younger man, of principles totally different, was chosen. The Comte de Vergennes, a seasoned diplomat, at that time Ambassador to Sweden, was called to fill the important post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which was really equivalent to being also Secretary of State, for M. de Maurepas, nearly eighty, saw eye to eye with the younger man and in all things followed his initiative. Choiseul accepted his disgrace very badly; during the entire period prior to the open Alliance he used every weapon available to secure the downfall of Vergennes. His persistent efforts had the support of Marie Antoinette for it was Choiseul who had formed the Alliance with Austria which brought her to the throne of France. So bitter was the fight that three different times M. de Vergennes offered his resignation. The King however remained firm. M. de Vergennes remained in office until his death in 1783.

<sup>1</sup> The intrigues of the Choiseul party during the winter and spring of 1777 are noticed in Doniol in several places, but can best be traced through the Stevens' Facsimiles; in the diplomatic correspondence of Lord Stormont, especially regarding Choiseul's relations with Franklin; in the letters of Beaumarchais and in the spy correspondence of that period. *Facsimiles*, No. 1408. In a despatch of Lord Stormont's of January 1, 1777, occurs the following: "It is certain that the Choiseul Party take Franklin by the hand, openly espouse the cause of the Rebels; and rail in all companies at the weakness of the present French Ministers, who, say they, lose such an opportunity of giving the natural rival and enemy of France a mortal blow."

other from his pen,"<sup>1</sup> lies in the fact that, in summarizing the sovereign good of a Christian State, M. de Vergennes laid bare the principles that in a short time were to dictate the French-American Alliance. He says :

.....France, constituted as she is, should fear rather than desire any increase of territory ; such additions placed at the extrēmities would weaken the center.<sup>2</sup> She has within herself everything which constitutes real power ; fertile soil, valuable raw materials necessary to other countries ; industrious and frugal inhabitants.....The glory of conquering kings is the curse, as that of beneficent rulers is the benediction, of humanity. This Sire, is what should be the part of a King of France and especially of Your Majesty whose only desire is to live for the happiness of the human race. France, placed at the center of Europe, ought to make her influence felt in all great undertakings. Her King, as a sovereign judge, should consider his throne as a tribunal instituted by Providence to compel nations to respect the rights and property of others. If while assiduously working to establish order in domestic affairs, Your Majesty directs his policy in a way to let it be seen that neither thirst of empire or the least breath of ambition disturbs his soul and that he desires only order and justice, his decisions will be respected and his example will effect more than his armies...April 12, 1777.<sup>3</sup>

When it is realized that the Minister who wrote the above memoir, in a few years was to hold in his hands all the reins of power in Europe,<sup>4</sup> binding the nations in a *Ligue des Neutres*

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. II, pp. 406 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> M. de Vergennes never wavered in his determination not to attempt the acquisition of Canada.

<sup>3</sup> The entire memoir is given by Doniol, Vol. II, as Annex. III to Chapter VII.

<sup>4</sup> Although Catherine II of Russia deserves the credit of putting into form and launching the *Ligue des Neutres*, the idea and the initial work belong to the Comte de Vergennes. His support among the belligerent nations held the *League* to its ideal and was responsible for the adhesion of Portugal, close friend and ally of Great Britain, to the provisions of the *League*.

against the maritime control exercised by England and effecting for the first and only time in her history "the isolation of Great Britain in world politics,"<sup>1</sup> a new and deeper significance is given his utterances.

Before July 1777, "order in domestic affairs" was so far re-established that another decided effort was put forth to bring Spain into line with French policy. On July 23, 1777, a memoir prepared with this end in view was submitted to Louis XVI by M. de Vergennes. Approved by the King, it was then forwarded to the French Ambassador at Madrid. It contained such stirring passages as the following: ".....By the means so far employed we will not prevent the reconciliation of the Colonies with England...assistance must become sufficiently effective to assure a total separation and *forcer les Americains a la gratitude*, (hold them bound to us in return for assistance).....If the two crowns decide upon war, and it is difficult to believe they will not, would it not be well...to prepare for a close alliance...obliging both parties not to make peace separately....The moment has come when a resolution must be taken either to abandon America to itself, or to aid her effectively...If we wish to serve America effectively and be served by her, now is the moment to inform her; if on the other hand we are going to do nothing, honesty and humanity require us to tell her so...."<sup>2</sup>

Spain however refused to be touched. The summer wore away in fruitless negotiations. She was unwilling to be excluded and yet unwilling herself to act; M. de Vergennes however ceaselessly worked towards the possibility of free action on the part of France; finally, on December 3, he wrote his Ambassador in Madrid giving in unmistakable terms the decision of the Government of the King to follow the "unanimous"

<sup>1</sup> Taraknath Das, Ph.D., "Great Britain in World Politics," *Modern Review*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, Vol. II, pp. 458 and 460-469.

demand of public opinion in France and to brave the threats of England by joining openly with the Americans.<sup>1</sup> The very next day, December 4, 1777, news arrived of the victory of Saratoga.

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Secret Aid had triumphed. Beaumarchais, almost delirious with joy, conducted to the Commissioners at Passy the messenger from Congress who brought the news of the capitulation of Burgoyne.<sup>2</sup> He despatched at the same time a courier to the Court at Versailles so that the news would reach both at the same instant. In his joy thoughts of his own future were not absent from his mind. "*De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine, Domine, exaudi orationem meam,*" he wrote to M. de Vergennes the next day, fully confident that he would find reward for past services in the permission to continue them in the future. But in this he was mistaken. Saratoga,<sup>3</sup> far from being the *cause*, was only the *occasion* for France coming out openly in favor of the Americans. After that victory Louis XVI could no longer resist the current that carried him forward, even though Spain still withheld participation. Thus the great triumphal movement swept forward leaving stranded by the wayside those who had labored to make its course possible. The shock to Beaumarchais was terrific;<sup>4</sup> but philosophic

<sup>1</sup> Doniol, Vol. II, p. 588 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Doniol, Vol. II, pp. 620, 646, 692 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Creasy in his "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World" includes the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga as one of them, from the fact that it was the cause of the French-American Alliance. The influence which this victory had upon the mind of the King is certainly not to be ignored. The documents given in the above article however show conclusively that even without this crushing victory of Saratoga France would have signed the Alliance, in spite of the timidity of the King in this regard, and the refusal of Spain.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Beaumarchais to M. de Vergennes, January 1, 1778: ".....So I have lost the fruits of the noblest and most incredible labors by the very care which leads others to glory.....Miserable human prudence! Thou canst save no one against whom intrigue arraigns itself! Monsieur le Comte, you are one of the men upon whose equity I have always most counted.....Before I perish as a merchant, I ask that I may give in my accounts, in order that it may be well proved that nobody could have done so much with so little means against so many obstacles ....." Stevens' Facsimiles, No. 1815; Doniol, Vol. II, pp. 686-7.

genius that he was, he quickly saw how to turn tragedy into comedy, defeat into personal victory. If permission were denied him longer to serve the Revolutionary cause, then that cause should be made to serve him and help him pile up millions where before were only disappointment and loss. Moreover, to balance the ill-usage of the world at large he would write not only the gayest of all the comedies that ever were put upon the stage, but he would have that comedy played in Paris spite of the King's prohibition and that of the entire police organization of France; yes, even if "the Bastille would have to be destroyed" in order that it might be played.<sup>1</sup> But when that day should come, as come it did, then alas, unconsciously and unwilling by its author, the *other* Revolution, the most terrible of all, would have received its first great impulse. For "the *Mariage de Figaro*," as Napoleon has said, "was already the (French) Revolution in action."

ELIZABETH S. KITE

<sup>1</sup> Mme. de Campan, *Memoires*, Word of Louis XVI on hearing the play read.



## A FANTASY

A Nightingale sang in a garden close,  
Sang to a beautiful, snow-white Rose,  
A song of love that was light and gay—  
For, oh, it was Spring, in the month of May!—

“Just to joy and sing,  
And mount on the wing,  
Ah, this is life!” sang he.

The queen Rose sang to the bird above,  
“Ah, better than all is unselfish love;  
For each golden hour of life I live,  
Fragrance and beauty to earth I give,  
To breathe on the air,  
Love, incense and prayer,  
This is my life.” sang she.

The bird soared low to the white, white breast,  
With careless song, on light-o’-love’s quest—  
A jealous thorn pierced his throbbing side,  
And gone was his joyous lilt and pride!  
Ah, Rose of sweet pain,  
Ah, life lost for gain,  
Ah, this is love!” sang he.

The royal queen of the garden close,  
Grew from a white to a crimson Rose—  
Whilst in the heart impaled on the thorn,  
Was love, pure love, of agony born.  
“Ah, touch of sweet fire,  
Ah, pain and desire,  
Ah, this is love!” sang she.

And ere the mystical twilight fled,  
The Bird and the Rose hung limp and dead,—  
Two spirits light up-winged to the star,  
Where the souls of all true lovers are.  
“Ah, life lost for love,  
All triumph above,  
Ah, this is Heav’n!” sang they.

TERESA STRICKLAND



## VIII

## COURSES OF VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION

This is the three-fold problem of dividing the available students, the matter to be taught and the teaching staff into appropriate classes. No entirely satisfactory solutions are to be expected; since classification must always be to a large extent arbitrary; not coincident with the actual state of affairs and dependent very largely on the character of the person who constructs the system. At the best the evil results of mass teaching can only be minimized.

• We suggest only two classes of students; namely, Artisans and Degree students; the former with no preliminary qualification except literacy in the vernacular, and the latter to have passed the Inter Science Examination with Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. It seems, at first sight, that a great gap is left which might be filled with matriculated students, but experience in India shows that students drawn from this class fall between two stools. Their general education has not been carried far enough to be a good foundation for advanced technical education. The effect of their presence in schools pretending to advanced work is to degrade the course below the world standard. Their right place is in the Artisan class where at the worst they may become efficient workmen, and at the best may rise, after their training is complete, to considerable executive power. They will incidentally raise the standard of the Artisan class, instead of lowering that of the Degree class. • As long as the Matriculation standard remains what it is, Inter Science should continue to be in applied as in pure science the minimum qualification for admission to a University course.

Artisan classes exist in many of the Indian Engineering Colleges already, and for a number of reasons, are worthy of

development into a much more important position than they now occupy. They have the great initial advantage, that the majority of the students are drawn from worker's castes, and have no natural antipathy to manual labour. They may, moreover, be the link that will join the ancient industry of India to her future. One of the bye-products of industrial revolution is the throwing out of employment of large numbers of elderly workmen too old to learn the new methods. It was this that caused the loom and Jenny-smashing riots of the 18th century. There is no need for India to go through that painful experience, since, guided by Western experience, it is now not impossible to foresee the transition and provide for it.

The model to be kept in view in framing artisan courses is that of the English Dock Yard Schools. The great majority of Artisan students are to be trained as workmen differing from their ancestors only in as much as they will be accustomed to the use of modern machinery. A great deal of the ancestral technique is likely to be incorporated, that it would be a pity to lose altogether. Because we wish to retain this intimate relation with the old industry for a time at least until all is carried on that is worth carrying on, teaching should be in the vernacular, and no initial acquaintance with Western culture should be required. The Dock Yard system has already been described. As in that only a proportion of the Artisan students should go forward to advanced theoretical instruction. At no stage, even in the first year, should such work be compulsory. In the first year something like a half day, or at the most two half days a week of theoretical instruction (simple calculations and drawing) may be offered to those who care to avail themselves of it. Those who make good progress may be offered rather more time in the next year; and so on to a maximum in the final year of half-time classes. After the second year, the half-day classes should be given up and replaced by several months in the year of continuous theoretical instruction. This is not good from the school point of view, but half-day workmen are very incon-

venient in the workshop. Effective work in the workshop requires that the same workmen should carry on all jobs from start to finish; which commonly means several days on end. It hardly needs stating that if three months of theory is offered to suitable third-year artisans who are fit, and who desire it, there is no need that it should be the same three months for all of them. They may most conveniently be divided into three batches, avoiding the hot weather before the monsoon altogether.

In the workshop, the students should from the first be allotted to certain definite trades, as for example, Smith work, Foundry work, Pattern-making, Carpentry, Fitting, Turning or any one of some scores of others. Of course the student is to choose his own line subject to there being accommodation in it. Some of these trades are subject to considerable advance in the hands of work men with theoretical knowledge, and others are not. This is one of the reasons why theoretical classes should be optional. A boy being trained as an Electric wireman, will soon feel the need of theoretical instruction, but one being trained as a Moulder or Carpenter will require only the elementary drawing and arithmetic of the early years. The idea of failure should as far as possible be eliminated. Those who require or want theoretical instruction, and are intelligent enough to receive it should get it. Those who don't or who are not intelligent enough should be subject to no stigma. They are trained as simple workmen. None should be dismissed for any reason other than incorrigible idleness or viciousness.

In general, one entered, say as a Smith, should not be permitted to change during the five years required to make him efficient in that trade, but the rule should not be regarded as inviolable. The normal age of entry into an Artisan class should be sixteen. As a rule (especially in India where maturity is early) a man's character is established by that time, but there are exceptions. It should not be impossible up to the third-year for a Smith who could prove that he had acquir-

ed considerable knowledge of say Automobile work, to claim transfer. To sum up in a sentence, though the system should be carefully thought out in great detail, it should not be too rigid.

The ideal Artisan School is an institution doing nothing else. There is room in India for many hundreds of them. It is not impossible (it is usual) to teach Artisan and Degree students in the same institution, but the procedure has two very undesirable reactions. One of them is that the Degree students are lead to think it beneath their dignity to work with their hands, with the result that they more or less openly hand over a most valuable element in their training to the Artisans; and the other is that the Artisans receive the impression that there is no hope that even the ablest of them can ever aspire to those superior posts that are destined for the Degree students. That, of course, is not so. Twenty years after a man has finished his education, his position is much more likely to depend on his congenital character than on his education; but a boy cannot be expected to know that. In fact, it is not desirable that he should, as it would make him despise and neglect his opportunities for the education that would do so much to accelerate his success. It is, of course, still less desirable that he should think that his final position will be determined by other people's education.

The last things we will say about Artisan Schools is that the bulk of expenditure should be in modern machinery of every description, and that so far as is possible without forgetting that their main object is to teach; the workshop should be run on commercial lines. In many parts of India, with a good equipment of modern machinery, the school will have a virtual monopoly of high grade work, protected by hundreds of miles of freight, and, the time required to get such work from Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras. So far as they can afford to do so they should

refuse work that can be done locally, and specialize in the higher grade work.

In planning courses of instruction for Degree students, the first thing to be kept in mind is that we have here a much greater necessity for that generalisation which was stressed in the initial article, and as a result that public opinion is very likely to run strongly to the conclusion that the courses are not practical. There was never yet a successful man who in considering his education, did not come to the conclusion that it might have been much more appropriate to his life's work. Many of them write to their old professors to say so, and to suggest and define the desirable modifications. The reason why the old professors take no action on such letters is that every one of them is pressing for a high degree of specialisation and that no two of them agree as to what it ought to be. The man who has found his line of least resistance in life (say) wireless telegraphy, could of course have been much more suitably educated than as an Electrical and Mechanical Engineer, but it does not follow that his school made a mistake. The man who goes farthest in life is he who keeps his mind fairly open as to where he is going, and takes advantage of openings that could not have been foreseen. His school has done its duty by him if it has given him knowledge sufficiently detailed to carry him through the first four or five years of his professional life, as a junior in any one of a wide range of kindred specialities. Even if all this were not valid, it would still be financially impossible to provide highly specialized courses of instruction in each of the manifold ramifications of modern industry.

There are two reasons why the number of vocational courses in India should be less than is found desirable and feasible in the West. One is that the country is too poor to bear such elaboration, and the other is that the field of

postgraduate employment, calls for men with considerable adaptability rather than for the narrow specialists. It was not so long ago that the Roorkee graduate, for instance, was expected to look after his own Mechanical and Electrical Engineering problems, and he is still expected to be his own architect. In the West, the Civil Engineer would hand these over to other specialists.

Taking all this into account, as well as the present state of Indian Industry and its probable development in the not too remote future, we suggest seven degree courses of instruction for the complete College of Technology incorporated in or affiliated to a University. They are:—

- (1) Civil Engineering and Architecture.
- (2) Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.
- (3) Textile Technology (including Dyeing).
- (4) Industrial Chemistry (including Ceramics).
- (5) Agriculture.
- (6) Mining.
- (7) Metallurgy.

A College of Applied Science comprising these seven departments would cover practically the whole of India's Industry for a long time to come. We will return to the question of administration later but it may be noted here, that if all these departments existed together in a large institution serving a large area, there would be a considerable economy, arising principally from overlapping of the departments. It is quite feasible, for instance, to make (1) and (2) the same course for the first two years of a four-years' course. If they are beneath the same roof, a costly duplication of staff and apparatus is thereby avoided.

The same is true of other combinations, as for instance, Mining and Metallurgy. Certain subjects are common to more than one course even when the junior course as a whole is not. Mathematics is such an universal subject; and Drawing is another.

The above Departments are students' departments; they do not constitute a very suitable classification of teachers. The two classifications would have to coincide if the courses were in separate institutions but a much better departmentalisation of teachers would be possible if they were all together. One of the most, if not *the* most, important departments in a complete technical college would be the Mathematics Department. It would be under a specialist in Mathematics, even though for any one of the students' courses Mathematics is only a subsidiary subject. One of the most deadly fallacies in technical education is that (say) young Engineers should be taught their Mathematics by qualified Engineers who presumably know as much Mathematics as an Engineer needs. But this is altogether to ignore that future which should be the main field of endeavour. Mathematics, Chemistry, even Drawing to some extent, become dead subjects unless taught by men whose central enthusiasms are Mathematics, Chemistry and Drawing respectively. The teachers' departments corresponding to the above students' departments are :—

- (1) Civil Engineering.
- (2) Mechanical Engineering.
- (3) Electrical Engineering.
- (4) Transport Engineering.
- (5) Spinning and Weaving.
- (6) Dyeing.
- (7) Mining.
- (8) Metallurgy,
- (9) Applied Chemistry,
- (10) Agriculture,
- (11) Mathematics,
- (12) Workshops,
- (13) Drawing,
- (14) Physics,
- (15) Commerce,

The head of each of these should be a specialist in his own subject, sufficiently strong-minded to develop his own subject logically without dictation from Heads of other Departments who might bring pressure to bear on him. The head of the Civil Engineering Department, for instance, is justified in saying "my students must have such and such of Mathematics to follow my lectures." He should be disregarded when he goes on to say "but you must omit so and so; I don't need it." The direction in which (say) Chemistry will presently develop and be applied is not indicated exclusively by present applications of Chemistry. It is quite likely that the Chemist who never dreams of application might make a better guess at that than the man whose interests are purely practical, if the point interested him.

The reasons why Workshops are included as a separate Department are given in a previous article. They would not be in a fully industrialized country, but in India for a long time to come, workshops to some extent on a commercial basis are necessary.

The order of presentation of the various subjects taught in a technical school should be guided as far as possible by the student's natural inclination, assuming that his object in attending is to acquire knowledge of industry, and not merely to acquire a paper qualification in the least possible time.

This means that practice should bulk very largely in the early years of the course. An adult of logical mind would naturally say, "begin with a systematic exposition of principles and then proceed to their applications; otherwise the student will not be able to appreciate the significance of what he is doing." But the natural boyish mind is disappointed and disgusted rather than pleased to find that what he thought was *pukka* magic turns out to be simply two and two make four. It is only in a state of comparative maturity that he appreciates reason itself as miraculous. If it become possible by muttering some form of words to raise one's self a thousand feet in the air, the atmosphere would immediately be clogged with all our



young people doing it ; it would only be after a long time that a few of the older ones would be found seated on the earth asking themselves :

(a) How did that happen?

(b) Is there anything else I could do on the same lines?

It is at that stage that theoretical instruction becomes appropriate.

Therefore, in any well-thought-out course the early years should include much laboratory practice, much workshop practice, and much drawing, which should be in long continuous periods ; and very little lecture work. The essence of youth is activity, not thought. The time for workshop should be every day and all day, until the student tires of it, and the same applies to the laboratory and the drawing office. Lectures should be introduced for only one or two hours a day as a relaxation. There are many schools where students pass from one lecture to another for a whole day. To keep awake under an infliction of that kind is quite beyond a normal young man.

Later on towards the end of his course, lecture work may be increased, though never to the extent that is customary in India, where one never knows which to admire most : the inexhaustible energy of the lecturer, or the stoical endurance of his students. Generally speaking, it is better to let lectures arise naturally as explanations of things observed and difficulties encountered in the workshops, laboratories, and drawing Office. The same applies to reading. Set course of lectures, and prescribed courses of reading are a regrettable result of economic conditions. The ideal is that *all* students should be habitually engaged either in the workshop, the laboratory or the drawing office ; with an ample corps of demonstrators. Only when it is found that the same questions are being asked by many students should they be jointly answered ; or better, referred to standard literature. But fully realized this would mean anarchy, and relatively enormous expense for demonstrators, workshop, and laboratory. Set courses of lectures are

required to set the pace to define the course of instruction ; to bring all students to a fixed stage at a fixed time for the purpose of examination ; and to relieve the laboratories and workshops. The only definite conclusion we can come to, for the moment, is that lectures are usually overdone and that they should be curtailed as much as possible in favour of independent study. We arrived at much the same result when considering the selection of students, namely, that class teaching is an economic necessity that cannot be justified on educational grounds.

L. D. COUESLANT

### THE MOTHER UNSEEN

The child's asleep on Mother's lap.  
She wakes up in the dark  
And lost in horror's solitude  
Her life's a flickering spark.  
"Mother ! Mother !" — her cry's but echoed death,  
Convulsed her frame in fear.  
Her burning eyes on void but stare  
Unsolaced by a tear.  
The Mother's voice rains life unseen,  
Her kiss a spring of joy,  
Her touch a shower of peace serene—  
Midst storm a living buoy :—  
"Rest thou on thy mother's lap,  
Why this trembling fear?  
O, Darling thou art mine, I thine,  
Be 't dark or be it clear.  
O foolish child, dost thou not see  
We are one all eternity.  
Be it night, or be it day  
Thee from me none takes away."

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

## HINDU RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND THEIR MUSIC

Ritualism to the average Indian, as well as to the majority of humans, is of infinitely more importance than ethical observance, and, for that reason, the many Festivals incidental to the Hindu calendar, are the red-letter days that embroider an otherwise drab and monotonous life of toil.

Fortunately, in India, the climate makes it possible for the poorest native to enjoy his holiday in the open air, and one's ears grow accustomed to the beating of drums, clashing of cymbals, tinkling of bells and sounds of flutes that announce another Festival procession on its way to the river where most festivals begin and end. One of the usual phases of these religious holidays is that not only must the devotees indulge in ceremonial bathing, but the images of the gods must also be immersed in the brown baptismal waters of Mother Ganges tributary streams; or even consigned to the water for ever, in which case new images are installed with appropriate ceremonies in homes, shrines and temples.

The people of the Tropics, demonstrative, emotional, and, to a degree, child-like, require a more pictorial and expressive religion than we of more temperate zones. Love of colour, an appeal to the senses, an outlet for emotions, all the outward phases of ritualism which are never better expressed than in the many Hindu festivals, must have a part in the religious ceremonies that punctuate the seasons in India.

The vast continent, once the home of primitive tribes of animists, known as Aborigines, Kolarians and Dravidians, was invaded about 2500 B.C. by the Aryans, a fair-skinned race who came from Central Asia through Persia. These new people spread over the Punjab, Central India, and the Plains of Bengal, and, in time, evolved the race of Hindus whose

approximate numbers in India to-day are some three hundred and fifty million.

From the sacred city of Benares on the Ganges river, came Brahminism, or the Hindu religion and in their earliest known religious book, the "Rig-Veda," are found the collected hymns extolling the virtues of a colourful group of deities; a group destined to multiply into the intricate and polytheistic imagery of the present Hindu pantheon.

While an omnipresent spirit was believed to preside over the destinies of man, there came into being the many personified forces of nature which were worshipped as Gods and Goddesses, literally by the more ignorant, and symbolically by the more intelligent. The principal Aryan deities were called Dyaus and Aditi, the mother and father of all living; Varuna, ruler of Nature's forces; Indra, God of the Rain; Agni, God of Fire; Surya, God of the Sun; Usha, Goddess of the Dawn; Vayu, God of the Wind, and Marut, God of the Storm. This picturesque group that comprised the first mythology of the Hindus, was not uninfluenced by the instinctive superstitions and fears of the people. Propitiation through sacrifice once included the offering of human-beings, but that barbaric custom has happily been abolished and to-day goats are substituted for men on the sanguinary altars of the Goddess Kali.

From the first book, or "Rig-Veda," developed other sacred books, in which new deities were created and to which new legends were added, until to-day Hinduism presents one of the most complicated religious systems in existence.

The Vedic Age was represented by the "Ramayana" and the "Mahabharata," the two great Epic Poems; the Dharma Shastras, or old codes of law; the Four Vedas, each of which is divided into three parts, including the hymns, the precepts and the commentaries. Then came the Purana which comprised eighteen books whose common subject-matter was based upon the creation of man and the universe; the destruction and recreation of the universe; the histories of the deities; the reign

of the priests and the histories of the solar and lunar races - of the kings.

From out of all this mass of material the Hindu Trinity is pre-eminent. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva form the main god-heads ; but besides these are a multitudinous company of deities and semi-deities that form a bewildering list for the student of Hinduism. India, as a people, is divided into four main classes, or castes, the Brahmanic, or priest-caste; the Kshatriya, or military caste; the Vaisya, or agricultural caste, and the Sudras, or low-caste. From the Brahminic class has proceeded the many laws, taboos, and fetishes that have enmeshed India so hopelessly. Priest-craft has developed and the Brahminic cult has created those caste-laws that have predestined the Hindu to the slavery of custom, hereditary stations in life and the tyranny of laws that govern him from birth to death, and even after death on the funeral-pyre. It is this caste-system that has held India down for so many centuries, and through it so many stumbling blocks are placed in the way of reformation, education, politics and idealism. For this reason are the majority of Indians illiterate, the women held back by the laws of "Pardanashin," the widows' tragic state, the child-marriages, the horde of beggars, the many diseased, the *pariahs* and all those who are bound by ignorance, superstition, vice, poverty, and idolatry.

The One God was split into an infinite number of deities, evil and good, devils and ghosts, lesser and greater supernatural entities who exerted malign or benign influences on man. Certain animals attained sanctity, as did certain trees, and plants and inanimate objects. Black-magic and witchcraft, the evil-eye, amulets, charms and a variety of taboos entered into the religious concepts of the more uncultured, and exist to-day because of the inherent superstition in the people themselves. In other words, all Hinduism is impregnated with the animism that has exerted such a powerful and ineradicable spell over ancient nations.

From these many rich sources of mythology and legend, the Hindus have drawn the material upon which to build the religious festivals, marking the seasonal changes of the year and honoring some deity with puja (worship), processions and music.

The Hindu year is divided into six seasons, called Vasant, (Spring); Greeshma (Summer); Varsha (Rainy); Sarad (Sultry); Hemanta (Cold) and Sisira (Dewy). Each season comprises two months and within these divisions are given certain festivals from which I have chosen a few representative examples.

Our first great festival takes place in the Vasant season (January and February). It is called the "Vasant-Panchami," the time when new life and the resurrection of nature is worshipped in the form of Saraswati, the Goddess of springtime. Kama, the god of love; Rati, goddess of love; Lakshmi, and Krishna, the pastoral god, all have a special place in this celebration. The music symbolizes the rhythm of growing things; the "Vasant-Rag," or Spring song, is sung and danced by nautch-girls who wear yellow to represent the young shoots of grass, leaf and grain. The joyous character of the music expresses nature's re-birth in seed-time and lovers' mating-time. In some sections Krishna in his pastoral role is venerated and cows are worshipped. There are many poetic and beautiful phases of the Vasant festival, depending upon the culture of the devotees, while in other and more degraded aspects of the Spring-festival, there are elements that partake of a saturnalia in some Pandynic Arcady.

The next important festival is called the "Shivaratri," or night of Shiva, which is partly a fast in memory of Chitra Bhanu, an ancient King of India, and partly to honour Shiva, "Lord of the Dance" and "Keeper of the Gates of Life and Death." Ceremonial worship, with bathing, processions and music takes place on this occasion.

"Holi," the great festival following is one of the most famous in India and lasts for ten days. It has been compared with

the old Roman orgies of the Anna Darennia festivals which typified the offices of fructification in nature. The "Holi" festival was originally dedicated to Krishna, but has degenerated into a Bacchanalia combined with drunkenness, low forms of nautch-dancing, and a general reversion to debased rites.

At this season it is quite common to see thousands of Hindus smeared over with red stains, and the crowds that throng the streets are often noisy and offensive. The festival is celebrated at the vernal equinox and Krishna is the chief god whose image is carried in processions while the "Ras Mandal" or special "Hymn to Krishna" is sung. Most of the words in these songs relate the amorous episodes in Krishna's life, for he was a favourite with the *Gopis*, or heavenly milk-maids who sported with him in the meadows among the cows, or were bewitched by his divine flute-melodies. As a rule the songs incidental to "Holi" are based on physical rather than spiritual subjects and the music is of a lower type than the beautiful Ragas in classic mode.

Rama's Birthday comes in April and is an important festival. The Ramayana is read by the priests and people; pujah is observed, and at night nautch-dancing takes place and appropriate music is played while songs describe the lives of Rama and Sita, the hero and heroine of the great Indian poem. In it also figures Hanuman, the Monkey-god, who has been called the Indian Pan, and who was said to have invented a music-mode.

Another festival takes place in April and is called the Rali-ke-Mela, or festival of Young Girls, when the maidens celebrate all forms of the marriage ceremonies in pantomime with music and dancing. It is considered a good omen for girls to take part in this charming festival as it is believed that it will insure them a happy-married life in the future. Rama, the god of love, and Ganesh, the God of good-fortune, are invoked for happiness and prosperity.

The next festival is dedicated to Durga, the wife of Shiva in her character of Gouri, the Indian Ceres. She symbolizes

the ripened corn of the first harvest and the festival is really a harvest-festival which is wholly good as it portrays Durga in a beneficent role as a kindly Mother giving sustenance to man. The music is folk-song in character and entirely free from the vulgarity that enters into the Holi festival.

The Hindu New Year is celebrated by the "Baisakhi Festival" with ceremonial bathing in the Ganges or its innumerable tributaries, offerings to Brahmins, *pujah*, rituals and music. Festive garments are worn and gifts exchanged; the family altars are decorated, and great honour is paid to the family gods.

Another festival, of minor importance but peculiar significance, is one dedicated wholly to women. It is called the "Savitri-vrata," or Holy fig-tree, and is celebrated entirely by Hindu women who make offerings and do *pujah* under the sacred fig-trees, making intercession to be saved from widowhood, that most tragic state for women in India.

According to the ancient law of "Sati," Hindu women were burned on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and in immolation and martyrdom sought to obtain Heaven and reunion with their lords. This inhuman and barbaric custom has been abolished officially, although we occasionally hear of a case of "Sati" somewhere in the remote districts to this day. But even though there is no "Sati," the lot of the Hindu widow is a hard one, and she is sacrificed in another way. Condemned to perpetual widowhood, to servitude in the home of her mother-in-law, to humiliation and degradation, her hair is cut off, her jewels taken away, and she is forced to wear a coarse white *sari* and serve as a menial where once she was an honoured wife. Or she may have been left a widow while yet a child, not even a wife in reality; in any event she is eternally disgraced. No wonder she prays beneath the sacred fig-tree. I insert this festival merely because of its pathos, and of its further evidence of the ills of the caste-system and laws that permit such conditions.



In June there is a festival entirely of music, called "The Apsaras" in memory of the heavenly dancers of Indra's Court where the celestial coryphees from whom the nautch-girls claim descent danced for the pleasure of the high gods on Mount Meru. The chief goddess of this beautiful occasion is Rhambrha, the first dancer and goddess of love and beauty who is said to have taught classical dancing to her hand-maidens, the Apsaras. This festival is very popular with the women, and the nautch-girls especially, who bring out their finest costumes and jewels and perform the nautch in honour of Rhambrha.

One of the most outstanding events of the Hindu year is the "Jagannath Festival" which takes place at Puri, a native Hindu city in Orissa, in July. The most famous Jagannath temple in India is in this old Hindu settlement and at this season thousands of pilgrims go to Puri to celebrate the great Car-festival.

Jagannath is Vishnu in another form, and in ancient times the festival in his honour had many tragedies connected with it. The enormous car of the Jagannath is taken out and paraded in a procession where devotees work themselves up into a state of fanatical hysteria, and once the half-mad natives, hypnotized through excitement, threw themselves under the wheels of the car to be ground to death.

Jagannath is supposed to go to rest for four months, and his image is carried in the "Ratha-Jatra," or Ceremonial Car, down the long thoroughfare from one temple to another followed by a dangerously excited crowd. Huge throngs of devotees mingle their voices with the singers and the musicians beat drums, cymbals, gongs and play trumpets and flutes in a pandemonium of noise. It is still one of the wildest and most barbaric festivals held in India though supposedly purged of its old rites of self-sacrifice.

The dancing-girls of Bihar and Orissa are no less notorious than of old however, and although they are neither beautiful nor dignified, they still perform their traditional dances at the Festival of the Jagannath-Car.

In July there is a beautiful festival in Bengal called the Rain-Festival. It has been revived in its old classical mode by the famous poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore and is held in Calcutta at the beginning of the Rainy Season. Dr. Tagore, a poet of renown, is also a composer and the entire music for this lovely celebration was composed by him. He has trained bands of young men and women to sing his well-known verses in which the parched and hungry soul of India awaits the coming of the life-giving rain. The entire work is given from memory and it is a unique and poetical occasion and a festival de luxe celebrated by the more cultured and musical high-caste Hindus.

An unusual festival takes place on the fifth of August called the "Nag Panchami" or Festival of Snakes. It is of interest for its significance as symbolizing the ancient religion of the Sun and the serpent. The Nag or sacred cobra was the symbol of Vishnu and represented wisdom. When the sun is over the middle of the constellation of Carcatuca, over which the Nag is supposed to preside, the festival takes place. On this day offerings of milk and grain are put out for snakes ; and images of snakes or the sacred cobra are exhibited by householders.

There are numerous snake-temples in India where cobras are raised and worshipped as symbols of Vishnu. The cobra, although typifying wisdom and the cycle of eternity, a snake with its tail in its mouth, is also sculptured in a few ancient cave-temples as hanging from the boughs of a fruit-tree tempting a man and a woman, just as is pictured in Genesis ! One wonders whether the Hebraic legend was taken from the old Hindu myth, as it is certain that in India the snake has always stood for both evil-knowledge and for wisdom, and his symbols are woven throughout the pages of Hindu mythology. Although thousands of natives die from snake-bite yearly in India it is difficult to get an orthodox Hindu to kill one. Snakes have long been

worshipped in aboriginal religions and no one knows when the fetish started.

“Krishna’s Birthday” is celebrated in September and his most ardent devotees are the cow-herds. He became the Pastoral God of India and countless images of him playing his magic flute are found everywhere. A special dance celebrates Krishna and the Gopis, or Celestial Milk-maids, in which a young man and a group of girls execute a pantomimic dance at this season. Music of a pastoral nature is given and flutes, especially the Krishna flutes, are popular. In fact Krishna is the most beloved God of all not only for his pastoral qualities and his invention of the flute, but because he was the great lover whom women secretly admired.

Ganesh, another extremely popular deity, has a festival all his own at the full moon of September. He is the jolly-god, the God of good luck and success and to have his image above your door or shop is to gain fortune and happiness. He is represented as a fat man with the head of an elephant. Altogether benign and benevolent this God is responsible for a happy festival when his gaily-painted and gilded images are paraded in processions, as his praises are sung to music. These images are taken to the nearest sacred river, ceremonially bathed and then set up again in the homes for another year. Such festivals as these are not shadowed with the ancient barbarism of sacrifice nor the perversions that so often creep into religious rites in Hinduism. They are child-like and harmless, merry and happy and the influence of Ganesh is altogether good.

In October comes a festival in honor of one’s paternal ancestors. It is held at the waning of the moon and, at this time, it is believed that the spirits of the dead return to dwell awhile with their families. The father is venerated, and the son, a potential father, prays for sons. No greater blessings than this can come to a Hindu. Daughters are of no

importance and once were thrown to the sacred crocodiles this considered superfluous.

At this festival the eldest son performs the rites of worship ; certain taboos are practised ; certain ceremonies are indulged in and the man of the house is very much to the fore. This festival like that of the Holy Fig Tree Festival has no special music, but I mention it because this is dedicated to men as the other one is especially for women. On this occasion the importance of the male is stressed as the procreator of future Hindus, and merely throws a sidelight upon the extraordinary superiority of the male of the Hindu species as opposed to the comparative unimportance of the female.

One of the most important festivals in our list, is the "Durga-Puja," when Durga, Shiva's wife, in her character of the creator of energy, goes forth on her tiger armed with swords to wage war against demons. She is accompanied as a rule by Kartik, the God of War; Ganesh, the God of Good-luck, Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning and Music, and Lakshmi, the Goddess of Love and Beauty. This holiday lasts for ten days, when European business men are compelled to take a holiday themselves as orthodox Hindus, who serve as clerks in offices, refuse to work.

The water-side at the river presents daily and nightly an animated scene during this festival as continuous bands of devotees arrive with their painted images which are usually carried on platforms decorated with lights, coloured paper and flowers, and preceded by musicians who beat drums, ring bells and sing.

At the full moon of November there is a poetic little festival called "Chandra," in honour of the God of the moon. The Hindus wear only white and silver and the moon is worshipped as a Lunar Deity, with whom Kama, the God of Love, is associated. As the phases of the moon govern many festivals, or other propitious occasions in India, the presiding deity is honored with appropriate music, songs and rituals.

In November also is the unique festival to the sacred cows. These useful animals are decorated with flower-chains, beads and gilt and are given a well-earned holiday. The cow-fetish in India dates back to the days of the Aryans, who found this animal invaluable in their agricultural lives. She supplied both food and drink, and even fuel, and became deified and the foremost sacred animal in the category, with many legends attached to her name. Krishna, in his office as pastoral God and special deity of all cow-herds and peasants, figures largely in the cow festival and shares the honors with it. Women and men peddle little mud images of Krishna and a cow on this day while there are gaudy lithographs for sale showing Krishna in a meadow playing his flute to an admiring bovine audience. We like to see that at least on one day, the cows are given a special holiday and treated with honour, for in spite of the many "sacred animals" in India, it is known that they are not always treated kindly. The term sacred is very loosely used on occasion and does not always carry the sanctity that the word implies. However this is a pretty festival, when songs of Krishna are sung and the cow glorified as a friend to man.

The most beautiful festival in India takes place in November also. It is called "Diwali," or the Feast of Lights. The original intention of this festival is confused with the celebration of the marriage of Lakshmi and Vishnu; with Krishna and with ancestor worship, and includes ceremonies embracing all three subjects. At any rate the native quarters of the town present a fairy-like picture with thousands of little coloured lights outlining the shapes of temples and buildings. Along the river front devotees gather and send out little floats with burning lights to symbolize the living flame of Ananta, or Eternity, with prayers for the dead ancestors. The night of illumination is very lovely and there is feasting, music, dancing and ceremonies incidental to the festival that includes the worship of Gods and the souls of the departed.

The next great festival is dedicated to "Kali," the wife of

Shiva, in her role of the Black Mother and Goddess of sacrifice. On this day, at Kalighat (Kali's Temple) in Calcutta, hundreds of hapless goats are sacrificed upon the bloody altars of this sanguinary Goddess. There were once many revolting customs connected with this festival, as the Shiva and Kali cult not only represented the elements of sacrifice but other perversions comprised under the Tantric worship of the Hindus. Generally Kali is more popular with the low-caste native and those more ignorant peasants who hope to gain merit by offering a goat in sacrifice at Kali's temple.

At night during the time of the Kali Pujah bands of Nocturnal Dancers, sacred to Kali, perform mock combats with sticks, wear masks or hideous make-up and to the wild rhythm of drums and in the light of torches dance grotesquely and very much in the manner of "medicine-men."

This festival concludes the list of important ceremonies although there are a few during December and January sacred to Vishnu, and to local gods. I have chosen those festivals which represent special music or dancing, which have a peculiar significance in showing some Hindu customs. Connected with these festivals, however are a large number of fairs or "Melas" in the country-side, where amusements include praise of local deities; ghosts or devils; juggling, acrobatics; legerdemain; and the sale of food, cloth, jewels, and other object in stalls. These fairs are much the same as any country fair anywhere save for the inclusion of the religious features, or magico-religious features.

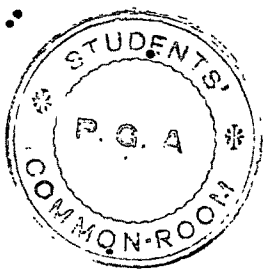
At certain of these fairs, however, thousands of pilgrims migrate to sacred places in honour of some god or fetish. These occasions offer a harvest to the beggars, holy men, Fakirs, sadhus, dancing-girls, and other opportunists, who know that wherever a holiday crowd gathers there will be a largesse of pice and annas. Part of the ritualism of all festivals includes alms-giving, to the Brahmins preferably, and considering the great number of these festivals, it is no wonder that the

Brahmin has nothing to do but wax fat on the offerings of the simple native who is taught (by the Brahmins) that he acquires great merit through giving.

As you see religion is the very life of the people, and especially the outward and ritualistic forms of religion as demonstrated in these festivals, and into which enters that music which is inseparable from any religious ceremonial at festival time. From the pastoral folk-dances in the villages, to the temple-music, chants, nautches, songs and songs of the deities, there is a great variety of music which is especially adapted to religious observances and without which no festival would be complete.

Music, believed to be of divine origin in India and said to have been invented by the gods, has entered into the life of the Hindu along with his religious observances, and for that reason holds an important place in the seasonal-celebrations.

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON



## THE ENCOUNTER

We met on the pine-scented road of a small Indian hill station. He was lightly if picturesquely clad in a short tunic of butcher blue, sandals, and a battered *sola topee*.

In one hand he carried a butterfly net, in the other a bottle. Over his right shoulder were carelessly flung—his trousers! With the easy camaraderie of childhood he stopped and regarded me solemnly. He was a small thin boy with large melancholy brown eyes and a mop of chestnut-coloured hair.

“Hullo!” he said at length and extended a grimy hand.

“Hullo!” I responded. At last finding his unwinking gaze a little embarrassing I broke the silence.

“Would it be very rude of me—but do tell me why you carry your trousers about with you instead of wearing them?” He glanced down carelessly.

“Oh these!” he replied. “Well they’re so hot you know, and my legs feel so lovely without anything!”

“No doubt,” I said “but all the same, I don’t think that is a good enough excuse for such a procedure!”

He regarded me thoughtfully for a few moments and then a sweet smile stole over his features.

“Do you always use such gweat long words” he asked severely, thus waiving aside my claim of having a right to criticise.

“Well no;” I said nervously, “but don’t you think we might sit down for a bit?”

We selected a nice grassy knoll by the side of the road, and my friend of the bare shanks carefully deposited his belongings about him.

“Whatever have you got in that bottle?” I asked as curiosity overcame my natural politeness.

“In this? oh vats a gweat big worm I caught! Shall I show it you? he asked eagerly.



I nodded. There was a short interval punctuated by loud breathing as the cork was dragged from its hold. At last patience was rewarded and a fine grey grass snake appeared at the mouth of the bottle.

"Isn't he lovely?" breathed his proud owner happily. "I call him Archibald."

"Do you really?" I asked with a slight shudder as Archibald made a bold bid for freedom via my sleeve.

"I think you'd better put him back again then, if you don't wish to lose him."

"Yes p'raps I had," said he and he thrust Archibald carefully, if a little cruelly, into his home from home. I breathed more freely and lighting a pipe said:

"What's your name? I feel so awkward knowing Archibald so well and yet not knowing who he belongs to...."

"My name? Well Nurse calls me Master Barnabas. Mother calls me Barney and Father calls me—"

"I shall call you Master Barnabas," I said hurriedly stemming the flow and following the sensible ways of nurse.

"My names are many," I added. "Some little time ago my nurse used to call me 'that little devil,' but that sounds rather unsuitable to a man of my age and figure. I think you had better call me Robert."

"Righto!" said Barney and we shook hands on it.

"My muvver," he continued, after a thoughtful pause during which we chewed grass, "knows you quite well. I heard her say when you passed our bungalow this morning vwat you were a nice man."

"Oh thanks!" I said gratified. "Then what is your mother's name?"

"Joan, an other peoples call her Mrs. North," said Barney.

Joan North! I remembered her with a sudden shock of unhappiness. Had I not in the halcyon days before the War had a terrible *passion* for the lady, and had she not refused my

offers of marriage five times? Yes, to all these questions! And here was her son a sturdy lad of six! Time flies indeed—my reflections were rudely interrupted at this stage by a husky whisper in my ear.

“ Oh Robert, I find my Ayah is coming.” Dragged back to mundane things I glanced down the road from whence came a noise which I took to be proceeding from a particularly large and infuriated tree-frog. But I was wrong for in another moment a large dusky-hued female, dressed in a scarlet waistcoat and white starchings appeared on my line of vision, uttering the piercing notes which I had wrongly attributed to a tree-frog.

“ Does she often make a noise like that?” I asked Barny. “ Yes, always when she’s lost me! Pr’aps I’d better put on my trousers now?” he continued a trifle nervously.

“ Yes, I think you’d better,” I returned, and the operation was delicately performed. Only just in time, for at that moment the dark lady perceived her missing charge and rushing towards us with an eerie cry clasped him to her ample bosom.

“ Well, goodbye!” said Barny freeing himself with a slight kick.

“ I enjoyed our little chat so much!” he added suddenly in high-pitched gushing tones; “ vats what my mother’s ladies say when they go,” He added noting my startled expression.

“ Goodbye!” I replied sadly as I wrung his sticky hand, “ I hope we shall meet again some day.”

A sob choked him as he was led firmly away.

Musing sadly on the ways of a world which had drawn Joan North’s son to me in a hill station, I gathered up my rifle, called my dog and continued on my way.

The last time I had heard of Joan had been seeing her engagement announced in the papers to some blighter called North who was then doing a course in something or other at Aldershot.

That evening as I dropped in at the small Club the station boasted I saw a fellow I knew and asked him about the Norths.

"Mrs North?" he asked. "Why yes, I know her well—you mean a rather stout woman going grey don't you?"

"Oh no!" I said; "the Mrs. North I knew was as slim as—well slim you know, and had black hair. She can't be more than thirty now."

"It can't be the same," replied Davis; "this one has several kids and mothers the whole station."

Gone were my dreams! Feeling that I could not bear to see the one romantic incident of my youth looking stout and getting grey, I packed my things early next morning and left the place. I fear I shall never see Barny again!

EVELYN POWELL PRICE

## A SONG OF THE SEA

The ships ride merrily over the sea,  
Away, my lads, away!  
Ease the ropes from the rugged quay,  
Away, my lads, away!  
With bending yards, and yielding masts  
We'll brave the roughest of the blasts,  
And cheer the tempest will it lasts,  
Away, my lads, away!

With the glorious smell of salt and tar,  
Away, my lads, away!  
Into the mists that roll afar,  
Away, my lads, away!  
Come, leave your lasses on the shore,  
Tho' eyes are wet, and hearts are sore.  
Absence makes them love you more!  
Away, my lads, away!

Thro' stormy seas, and sunny climes,  
Away, my lads, away!  
We'll have some jolly ripping times!  
Away, my lads, away!  
Whilst we have deck-planks for a home,  
Blue skies above, and dancing foam  
We shall always want to roam!  
Away, my lads, away!

LELAND J. BERRY

## TO EDIEANA

There is nothing that I would not do for you—  
As the sea-waves race and break the long day thro'  
Flooding the proud rocks with each gentle roll—  
So your love is ever surging in my soul,  
Until my life is one long round of you—  
Oh no! there's nothing that I would not do  
To bring the love-smile to your radiant eyes,  
And win the splendour of your pleased surprise!

I'd swiftly travel over land and sea  
To bear a love that's pure and sweet to thee,  
Or lure the nightingale to sing his song  
Outside thy chamber window all night long.  
I'd cull a promise from the morning breeze  
To sing thee all his fondest melodies.  
Oh! there's not a thing I would not do  
If I thought it would bring joy to you!

In sickness I'd bring roses, pale and sweet,  
And fondly lay them at your dainty feet,  
In health I'd bring thee all that life could give  
To urge in thee the strong desire to live.  
Wealth, faith, honour, trust, I'd give them all  
Just to be near to answer when you call.  
Oh yes! I'd give my all and never rue  
One thing I gave in my great love for you!

LELAND J. BERRY

## CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUROPE AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

*From Herdery to Sorokin (1776-1928)*

### CHAPTER IV.

#### CONTEMPORARY TENDENCIES IN SOCIETAL ANALYSIS.

(1905-28.)

Ideology : (1) analysis of instincts, interests, emotions, etc. in social relations, (2) comparative psychology (including animal psychology and psycho-analysis) as an aid to the deeper study of human institutions, (3) race-mixture, race-assimilation, race-deterioration, (4) segregation, sterilization, birth control, (5) optimum density, over-population, population movements, (6) heredity *vs.* environment on party platforms, (7) challenge to older anthropology, criminology, culture-history, (8) "Oriental question" in science and politics, (9) legislation in social affairs, family, child, etc.

(a) *General Theories of Progress.*

#### SECTION I.

*From the Birth of Young Asia to the  
End of the Great War.*

(1905-1918.)

1905. **Stein** (1859- ) : *Der soziale Optimismus* (Social Optimism). He is a champion of social legislation as carried out in Germany and Switzerland. The theoretical support for state socialism as promoted by **Bismarck** is furnished

in his writings. According to him, the functions of the state are bound to expand in the future. Authority is the essential element in society. And the source of authority in modern times is "institutions" and not individuals as formerly.

1905. **Karl Pearson** (1857- ) : *National Life from the Standpoint of Science ; The Problem of Practical Eugenics*.

Eugenics as a doctrine of national welfare is a branch of national economy. Sound parentage and healthy motherhood must be given a substantial economic advantage over unsound parentage and feeble motherhood. Factory Acts and other humanitarian social legislation have tended to the increase of degenerate and pathological stocks at municipal and state expense. "We have not only hindered Nature from weeding out social wastage but we have made the conditions increasingly more favourable to the multiplication of this degeneracy. Practical eugenists must urgently demand the restriction of all charity which favours the parentage of the unfit." Pearson is the exponent of anti-democratic chauvinism as opposed to environmental reform (contrast **Hobhouse**, *infra*).

1906. **Stanley Hall** (1846-1924), American : *Youth, its Education, Regimen and Hygiene ; Morale, the Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct* (1917-20). He makes a study of the mind (i) in its development in the child and (ii) in its evolution in the race. He believes that although the mind is by far the most wonderful work of nature it is still very imperfect. The barbaric and animal impulses are still left in it. His law of recapitulation says that the individual in his development passes through stages similar to those through which the race has passed and in the same order. The chief end of man is to keep body and soul, and the environment always at the tip-top of condition. This super-hygiene, best designated as *morale*, implies the maximum of vitality, life abounding, and minimizing all checks and inhibitions to it. He analyses the emotions—fear, anger, pity, ecstasy, bashfulness, etc., as well as children's lies, corporal punishments, etc., according to the methods of

differential or individual psychology (detailed inductive study of countless individuals). The methods of genetic and pluralistic psychology have also been employed by him in the examination of profiteering, labour economics, feminism, alcoholism, crime, penology, war and international relations.<sup>1</sup>

1906. **Aschaffenburg** (1866- ) : *Das Verbrechen und sein Bekaempfung* (Crime and its Repression), first edition, 1903, establishes poverty and alcoholism as the two most powerful causes of crime. He offers a formidable opposition to the "positive" criminology of **Lombroso**, which attempts among other things to establish a connection between ethnology and criminality. Apart from the fact, says he, that as regards the term race, we have not yet come to conclusive results, and further, that we no longer find unmixed races, the economic conditions in the different countries vary to such an extent that it is almost impossible to determine what part difference of race plays in criminality. He likewise finds Lombroso's doctrine of "born criminal" (*delinquente nato*) being an "atavistic" step in the development of mankind as anatomically and physiologically "unproven."

As regards punishment he strongly recommends conditional sentence (known as suspended sentence in America), the parole, and abolition of fixed terms of imprisonment. He is positive, however, that brutality, recklessness and licentiousness are growing and that these can be combated by measures calculated to reduce poverty and increase prosperity, diffusion of education, establishment of recreation centres, care of neglected children and released convicts. He advocates reform in criminal law on the ground that penal responsibility should be determined according to a biological and social criterion and not at all according to metaphysical or theological theory of free will.

1906. **Hobhouse** (1864- ) : *Morals in Evolution, Development and Purpose* (1913), *Elements of Social Justice* (1922).

<sup>1</sup> Wilson : *Stanley Hall* (1914). Partridge : *Genetic Philosophy of Education* (1912).



Progress is achieved through the "conscious" promotion of "harmony" between the classes. Common good is the foundation of all personal rights. Democracy is the best form of political organization but is not suited to all peoples at all times. His ethics establishes the "relativity" of good. The comparative study of ethics is apt in its earlier stages, says he, to impress the student with a bewildering sense of the diversity of moral judgments. One ends, however, by being impressed with a more fundamental and far-reaching uniformity. Some physical (*racial*) "stocks" undesirable in themselves may contain "strains" that suitably blended with others are of value to the *national* character as a whole. The new biology (**Bateson** and **De Vries** as opposed to **Galton** and **Pearson**) teaches that definite "mutations," the real basis of racial progress, are not impaired even if an individual possesses them in an imperfect degree. *Social* "opportunities" may be helpful to the thriving of desirable mutations and are thus real "eugenic agencies."

• 1906-8. **Westermarck** (1862- ) : *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*. Severity of punishment in criminal codes is connected with despotism or religion or both. Punishment gives the multitude a severe lesson in public morality.

• 1907. **Tenney** (1876- ) : *Social Democracy and Population*. He studies the sociology of immigration from the American standpoint. "Assimilation" is possible when the immigrants come from classes and nations possessing more or less the high American economic and social standards. But he objects to "race discrimination" and political chauvinism on the part of the American Government.

• 1908. **Simmel** (1858-1918) : *Soziologie : Untersuchungen ueber die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* (Sociology : investigations into the forms of society-making). He makes a special study of the individual in relation to society, and of smaller groups in relation to larger groups. The mutual relations of human beings in varied forms,—higher and lower orders, conflicts, leadership, opposition, secret societies, crossing of social circles,

the poor, expansion of the group, etc., in other words, the "forms" or "social processes" constitute his chief themes.

Sociology, according to him, is neither a social philosophy, a philosophy of history, nor a synthesis of the social sciences. It is a special science with a well-defined field of investigation. While economics, says he, is distinguished from politics merely by the difference in *content* of the social phenomenon which it investigates, sociology is distinguished from both by the fact that it treats the *form* of socialization and not its content.

1908. **McDougall** (1871— ): *Introduction to Social Psychology, Group Mind* (1920). He places undue emphasis on "instincts" in the making of human conduct. The instincts are inherited or "innate psycho-physical dispositions," "deterministic" in their character. In his analysis there are seven instincts with corresponding emotions, *e.g.*, flight (and fear), repulsion (and disgust), curiosity (and wonder), pugnacity (and anger), self-abasement (and subjection), self-assertion (and elation), parental instinct (and tenderness). He enumerates four other instincts (reproductive, gregarious, acquisitive and constructive). Public opinion, praise or blame of our fellows, is a tremendous force in human conduct, but it "contains within itself no elements of progress," tending rather to degenerate into rigid customs (*cf.* **Thorndike**: *Original Nature of Man*, New York, 1913).

1908. **Wallas** (1858— ): *Human Nature in Politics, Great Society* (1904), *Our Social Heritage* (1921). He institutes a psychological approach to the problems of public life. In his estimation progress comes through consciously directed social inventions. He is interested in the promotion of international co-operation. His politics postulate the utilization of the state as an instrument. He defends the territorial unit as the basis of representation and opposes the recent ideas of professional, vocational, group or interest representation as a general proposition.

1908. **Sighele** (1868-1913): *Litterature et criminalite* (Literature and Crime); *La Foule criminelle* (The Criminal Mob) 1901. The propagation of crime through literature can be prevented by conscious propaganda against it. The creation of a sound and healthy public opinion is the remedy. The press need not be gagged. Crimes are committed by normal persons under the influence of crowd-suggestibility.

1909. **Lichtenberger**, American, *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation*. Divorce is not an evil or a disease but a symptom and a medicine to social evils. The growing number of divorces indicates a disharmony between the economic (as well as political) standard and marriage. Social life has advanced in lines other than marriage. Hence the friction which embodies itself in separations. Marriage laws require to be brought up to the already raised level of industrial and political legislation. Increasing divorce rate is not due to degeneracy or decline in social morality. Divorce movement is the sign of a healthy discontent and marks the struggle towards a higher ethical consciousness.

1912. **Freud**, Austrian: *Totem und Tabu* (Totem and Taboo); *Traumdeutung* (Interpretation of Dreams); *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (Three contributions to Sexual Theory), 1905; *Psychology of Every-day Life*; *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, 1915-1917; *Die Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse* (Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego), 1921.

Man is governed by unconscious and subconscious no less than by conscious and rational impulses. Personality is not a single undivided entity. The ego is really a bunch of different egos which corresponds to the diverse groups to which an individual belongs as a member of the society. There is a perpetual conflict in every person between the impulses of the varied orders. Some of the impulses get the upper hand and others get submerged, i.e., driven underground in order to reappear as dreams. The Freudian wish has its foundations in these

unsatisfied desires and repressed emotions. Constituted as the society is, more or less every individual, nay, every personality, is the theatre of such warring egos, repressions and the play of the subconscious. The tyranny of the dominating social groups compels a very large number of the egos in every personality to retire into the background,—the most prominent of which is the sexual. Society's control over sex as over other elements in the human make-up gives rise to maladjustments of all sorts and explains not only the *tabus* and many other morals and manners but a large number of mental and nervous derangements as well. The social complexes of infancy are so constituted as to engender the awe for authority in the soul. The antagonism between the individual and the society is an eternal fact of the human mind and accounts for the phenomenon of control on the one hand and revolution on the other. (Cf. **Sorokin**, 1925.)

Le Bon's description of the group-mind fits in well with his own psychology, says Freud, in the emphasis which it lays upon unconscious mental life. But according to him none of Le Bon's statements bring forward anything new. Everything that Le Bon says to the detriment and depreciation of the manifestations of the group mind had already been said by others before him with equal distinctness and equal hostility, and has been repeated in unison by thinkers, statesmen and writers since the earliest periods of literature. The two theses which comprise the most important of Le Bon's opinions, those touching upon the collective inhibition of intellectual functioning and the heightening of affectivity in groups, had been formulated shortly before by **Sighele**. At bottom, all that is left over as being peculiar to Le Bon are the two notions of the unconscious and of the comparison with the mental life of primitive peoples, and even these had naturally often been alluded to before him.

Freud observes that **McDougall's** analysis of the simple "unorganized group" in his *Group Mind* (1920) is no more friendly than that of Le Bon's. McDougall, however, distinguishes

between the group as a mere crowd and an "organized group." The "organization" serves to remove the defects of crowds by withdrawing intellectual work from the group and entrusting individuals with it. According to Freud the process would in reality consist in procuring for the group precisely those features which were characteristic of the individual and which are extinguished in him by the formation of the group. And here he agrees with **Trotter's** *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916) in so far as the latter considers the formation of groups to be biologically a continuation of the multicellular character of all higher organisms.

The fundamental factor in group formation, according to Freud, is deeper than the "imitation" of **Tarde**, the "primitive induction of emotion" of **McDougall**, the herd instinct or gregariousness of **Trotter**, and the "suggestibility" of **Le Bon**; and may be analysed intensively. It is to be sought in *libido*, the love-force, the sex-instinct, the *Eros* of Plato. It is *Eros* that holds together everything in the universe. And, "if an individual gives up his distinctiveness in the group and lets its other members influence him by suggestion, he does it because he feels the need of being in harmony with them rather than in opposition to them so that perhaps after all he does so *ihnen zu Liebe* (for love of them, for their sake)."

The primitive form of human society was that of a horde ruled over despotically by a powerful male. The fortunes of this horde have left indestructible traces upon the history of human descent. The development of totemism, which comprises in itself the beginnings of religion, morality, and social organisation, is connected with the killing of the chief by violence and the transformation of the paternal horde into a community of brothers.

1914. **Oppenheimer** (1864- ), *Der Staat* (The State), first American edition; *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft* (Colonizing Co-operation), 1896, *Grossgrundeigentum* (Large Landed Estates), 1898, *Theorie der Reinen und Politischen Oekonomie* (Theory of pure and political economy) 1910. Like **Bagehot**

(*Physics and Politics*, 1877), **Gumpłowicz** (*Der Rassenkampf*, The Struggle of Races, 1899), **Simmel** (*Soziologie*, 1908) and others he considers competition and struggle between the groups to be the basis of social evolution. He develops also the Marxian "economic interpretation of history" and advocates land-nationalization almost in the manner of the Italian economist **Loria** (*La Teoria economica della costituzione*, Economic Foundations of Society, 1886).

The "law of previous accumulation," coming down from Aristotle, the Stoics and the Epicureans to Rousseau, implies among other things that "in the beginning individuals were free and equal both politically and economically" and that "out of this original social order there had developed, through gradual differentiation, the fully developed state with its class hierarchy." Oppenheimer combats both the postulate of "original equality" as well as the concept of "gradual differentiation." In his interpretation "class formation" is the result, not of gradual differentiation through pacific economic competition but of "violent conquest and subjugation." He agrees with **Marx** in deriding the Rousseauesque law as but a "fairy tale."

The state, completely in its genesis, essentially and almost completely during the first stages of its existence, is a social institution, *forced by a victorious group of men on a defeated group*, says he. Its main function consists in regulating the dominion of the victorious group over the vanquished, and securing itself against revolt from within and attacks from abroad. And this dominion has had no other purpose than the *economic exploitation of the vanquished by the victors*.

According to Oppenheimer no primitive state known to history originated in any other manner. He makes extensive use of anthropological data such as are furnished by **Ratzel** in *Voelkerkunde* (Anthropology), **Grosse** in *Formen der Familie* (Forms of the Family), etc., to establish his thesis through the different ages of universal history. His *guru* in this line of investigation is declared to be Gumpłowicz. But he improves

upon Gumplowicz in so far as his own interpretation of the evolution is not pessimistic. Gumplowicz considers the "class state" to be an "immanent" and an eternal fact of societal existence. Like the anarchists he cannot conceive any government without exploitation. But Oppenheimer's futurism considers the class-state to be a mere "historical category." He believes that the class-state will disappear. In his analysis both the tendencies of history and philosophy as well as those of economics point to a new order in which government is likely to exist without class exploitation.

All through the ages the "economic means,"—*viz.*, exchange, barter, merchants' law, movable capital, etc.,—have been gaining ascendancy over the "political means," *i.e.*, the rights to equality and peace over the rights to war and aggression. The time may come when the political means and all its works will be completely ousted and the economic means enjoy the monopoly of rule. The "constitutional state" of modern times is already a half-way house to that consummation. One great hindrance to its realization is the existence of large landed properties, but they are tending to be subverted.<sup>1</sup> The rule of "pure economics" is bringing into existence a new type of societal organization, to be no longer called a state but a "free man's citizenship," *i.e.*, "society" guided by self-government. There will be no "state" but only "society." The Marxian "withering away of the state" is encountered here in a new form.

The ascendancy of "society," *i.e.*, economic means (which = equality and peace) to the negation of "state," *i.e.*, political means (which = class-exploitation and war) will, it is believed, render the ideals of great philosophers realizable. His conclusion contains the progress from "warlike activity to peaceful labour" (St. Simon), "development from slavery to freedom" (Hegel), "evolution of humanity" (Herder) and "penetration of reason through nature" (Schleiermacher).

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of *Grossgrundeigentum* (large estates) as an element in contemporary *Kapitalistische Akkumulation* (capitalistic accumulation) and socio-economic inequality, see *Damaschke Boden-reform* (Land Reform), Berlin, 1923.

## AN EMPIRE METAL

*(The Phenomenal Progress of Nickel)*

In a community of the vast extent of the British Empire it is natural that there should be a wonderful richness and variety of natural resources. In several raw materials, for instance, the Empire can claim if not an absolute monopoly at least an overwhelming preponderance of production. Nickel is a case in point. The Sudbury district of Ontario, Canada, produces more than 80 per cent. of the total world output of nickel, a figure which promises to improve to ninety per cent. in the not very distant future.

There is a great deal of romance in the rise of this Empire metal, as it may now truly be called. Two events have directed public attention to its importance. The first was the surprising development of the rich Frood mine whose lower levels revealed a totally unexpected richness of nickel-copper ores; the second was the recent amalgamation of the two leading nickel companies (the International Nickel and the Mond Nickel), to form the International Nickel Company of Canada, whose capital at current market prices is in the neighbourhood of £ 200,000,000.

Part of the romance lies in the phenomenal advance of nickel from a minor to a foremost place in the world of modern metals.

Less than fifty years ago the world consumption of nickel was no more than 500 tons. By 1922 this had risen to nearly 15,000, by 1923 to 25,000. From 1926 there was a tremendous jump and to-day the world is consuming at no less a rate than 50,000 tons of nickel a year.

Moreover, there is no immediate stop to this amazing expansion in sight. In fact, new uses are discovered almost faster than the metal can be produced.



This advance is due to the fact that nickel is pre-eminently the metal of modern man. It is the metal of the age of electricity, armoured ships, aeroplanes, motor-cars, wireless and of high pressure and high temperature processes. Every day reveals new and important uses for this once neglected metal and for its many alloys.

To-day a complete account of the diverse uses of nickel and its alloys in modern industrial processes—engineering, chemistry, transport and so on—would fill a volume. Moreover, once metallurgists began to think in terms of nickel not only did they achieve great advances but they also revealed tremendous un-thought-of potentialities for the future.

There are several processes of obtaining pure or nearly pure nickel, the best known of which are the Mond and the electrolytic. Both these processes are the product of modern scientific research and invention, and they could no more have been conceived by primitive or mediæval man than could the modern uses and rapid development of nickel.

The qualities which render nickel so invaluable in modern industrial processes are its toughness, its resistance to corrosion from air, water, alkalis and dilute acids, its fairly high electrical resistance and above all, the ease with which it forms alloys with other metals, particularly steel.

The metal itself is used for such highly modern purposes as sparking-plugs, radio apparatus, vacuum cleaners and electrical equipment. It is also in demand for cooking and household utensils which have a handsome appearance, are easily cleaned and are virtually indestructible.

The pure metal has been employed as a substitute for silver in the coinage of several nations, though an alloy, copper-nickel, has been even more widely used for this purpose. More than 21,000 tons of copper-nickel coins have been minted and put into circulation throughout the world since the war.

Its alloys with steel are among the most valuable of modern metallurgical inventions. The toughness and tensile strength

of steel are enormously increased by mixing it with a percentage of nickel. Nickel-steels, therefore, are invaluable for structures in which lightness must be combined with tremendous strength and capacity to withstand strain—for instance, in ships and long-span bridges. They are also specially used in those parts of locomotives, railway lines, automobiles and aeroplanes which are most subjected to heavy wear and big stress.

An even stronger and harder metal than simple nickel-steel is produced by adding to it a small proportion of chromium. Vast quantities of this type of steel were formerly used in manufacturing armour-plate, guns, gun-shields and armour-piercing projectiles and it was this use that first brought nickel into prominence in modern metallurgy. With the nations turning towards peace and reduction of armaments, however, intensive research was focussed on discovering new uses for nickel and its alloys and this has been so successful that, as has been said, the demand for the metal is greater than ever to-day and still expanding.

Modern stainless steels largely owe both their invention and their usefulness to nickel, and these steels are not merely employed in cutlery, dental plates and so on but are finding increasing use in the highly important high-temperature processes of 20th century chemical engineering practice. Alloys of nickel with iron also are finding extensive modern uses in foundry practice and other channels and are enabling chemical engineers and inventors to solve thermal problems which had baffled them for years.

It would require great space again to deal with alloys of nickel and non-ferrous metals such as the various widely-used copper-nickel alloys. Cupro-nickel, for instance, is one of the most ductile metals in commercial use and it is employed for condenser-tubes and in electrical engineering for resistance materials. It is familiar to any one who has handled a rifle bullet, being the metal of silvery appearance which envelops the bullet.

The nickel-chromium alloys again are highly important in electrical engineering being unsurpassable for cables of various kinds. It was due to their introduction that the extensive use of electrical heating appliances has become possible.

Two of the most modern uses of all must be mentioned. In the construction of air-ships and of metal for air-craft generally, a nickel alloy of aluminium and other metals has now been perfected in Britain which is far superior to the metal employed in the original German Zeppelins.

Lastly, finely divided nickel is employed as a "catalyst" in that modern chemical process known as catalysis. A catalyst is a substance which enables a chemical action to take place without itself actually taking part in it, and the subject is still largely an unexplored one with tremendous potentialities for the future in the whole field of synthetic chemistry. Nickel as a catalyst is employed, for instance, in petroleum-refining and the synthesis of various oils and fats.

We have not even touched on a score of the other uses of nickel including its use in electro-plating and in storage cells for electrical batteries, but we have certainly shown that nickel is essentially a metal of modern progress.

With Canada now occupying such a preponderating position in the production of this highly important metal it is difficult to realise that less than 40 years ago the main source of nickel was a remote island in the Southern Pacific, New Caledonia, once used as a French convict settlement. The present flourishing nickel district of Sudbury, Ontario, was at that time still largely wilderness, bearing little signs of the industrialisation which was to come so swiftly. Copper deposits were being mined but the presence of nickel was little more than suspected, till a lucky accident revealed the possibility of the vast riches hidden underground.

In the early eighties of last century, whilst a railroad was being driven through the district, a cutting in the rock exposed rich ore deposits. Copper, however, was the great objective of

the searchers at that time; and it was not until some years later that nickel, the metal which has now made the region famous, was found to be present in large quantities. Even then it was only discovered because the copper smelters found it so difficult to deal with nickel-containing ore and this led to further investigation.

This element of accidental discovery and romance was present also in the origin of the wonderful refining process on which the fortunes of the Mond Nickel Company have been founded. Dr. Ludwig Mond, the world-famous chemist and industrialist, was conducting experiments at his great chemical works in Cheshire, with a view to obviating breakdown in certain nickel valves. From these experiments he made the totally unexpected discovery of nickel carbonyl, the gas which is formed when finely divided metallic nickel is brought into contact with carbon monoxide gas at a certain temperature. Dr. Mond, being a man of great vision and tremendous energy, persevered with his experiments until finally he evolved from this accidental discovery the complete process for refining nickel from its ores, which bears his name and on which a great industry has been founded.

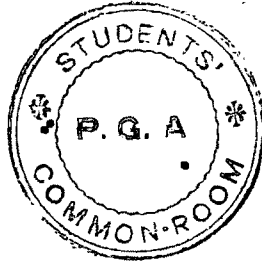
There is no space here to tell of the years of struggle before final success was achieved, of the many technical difficulties that had to be overcome, of the failure to persuade existing nickel manufacturers to take up the invention, of how the invention and the world-control of nickel almost went to the U.S.A., and of how finally Dr. Mond determined to purchase nickel mines on his own account, and use his invention to refine his own ore. Even then it was only after sending his agents to various other parts of the world, and receiving reports of nickel deposits in Russia, U.S.A., and elsewhere, that he finally decided to purchase his Canadian properties which were by no means of the proved value that they are now.

The story is a great romance of industry in general and of imperial industry in particular. From the chance discovery

made in Britain a great Empire industry has been established, but only through the enduring faith of its inventor and through years of struggle against seemingly insuperable obstacles.

The romance of the rise of this amazing Empire metal typifies the wonderful romance of the building up of the whole Empire. It is a romance in which luck and chance and unfailing courage play their varying parts; in it we see curiously combined both the widest vision and imagination and also the inevitable pettiness which puts obstacles in the path of pioneers everywhere. Through endurance at last comes success, and the corner-stone of the romance is completed with the consummation of the great nickel merger which places in Canada and in Imperial hands control of world-supplies of a metal which is as vital in times of war as it is useful in the industries of peace.

A. E. TOMLINSON



## THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF MONADISM

The discoveries of science in recent years mark an epoch in its history and are not without their significance for philosophy. "The old-fashioned materialism, which reached its culmination in the latter half of the last century, is now generally discredited, if not dead and buried. The ever more subtle analysis of matter is revealing well-nigh boundless vistas of hitherto undreamt of possibilities locked up within the bosom of nature, ever more subtle and potent modes of energy that may ere long be made available for our use. It is now a general persuasion in scientific circles that the static conception of matter, which once reigned supreme, explains nothing. Physical nature is found to be dynamic through and through, even when the method of research still insists upon arbitrarily abstracting the matter of our Great Mother from her life and mind." ("The Doctrine of the Subtle Body in Western Tradition," pp. 3-4.)

Recent scientific investigation has thrown a new light upon the problem of the constitution of matter. In former days atoms or inert particles were taken to be the ultimate constituents of matter, but it would now appear that the atoms are not simple but complex systems and are built up of elements or corpuscles which are identical in character. The corpuscles, again, have been found to bear, or to be, a constant electrical charge. Sir J. J. Thomson conceives any one atom to consist of a uniform sphere of positive electrification and of a number of negatively charged corpuscles revolving in orbits within that positive sphere, under the influence of the attraction of the positive electricity and of their own mutual repulsions. In other words, matter is a congeries of forces.

The dynamic conception of matter, however, has been thought to lend no support to the doctrine of monadism. A

monadistic theory of matter- as in the last resort a system of monads would probably find little countenance from physicists. Mr. Elliot writes : " Whatever matter may ultimately be resolved into, it certainly cannot be resolved into spirit. The wildest speculator in science has never suggested that possibility. And the name 'materialism' only has a meaning by contrast with the rival doctrine of spiritualism. In truth, spiritualism has long been driven from the sphere of the inorganic. Its last refuge is in the sphere of life and consciousness." (*"Modern Science and Materialism,"* pp. 69-70.) Mr. Elliot then would "still insist upon arbitrarily abstracting the matter of our Great Mother from her life and mind." He would still draw a sharp line of demarcation between the so-called "organic" and "inorganic," or between the "living" and the "non-living."

This time-honoured distinction between the "organic" and the "inorganic" has recently however been called in question by Dr. J. C. Bose, who, after a series of prolonged investigations, has come to the conclusion that the assumed line of demarcation is quite an arbitrary one, and that it cannot be sustained even on scientific grounds. In the concluding portion of his paper read before the Bradford meeting of the British Association in 1900, Dr. Bose said : " It is difficult to draw a line and say : ' Here the physical process ends, and the physiological process begins ' ; or ' That is a phenomenon of inorganic matter, and this is a vital phenomenon, peculiar to living organisms ' ; or ' These are the lines of demarcation that separate the physical, the physiological, and the beginning of psychical processes. ' "

Dr. Bose, who began his career as a physicist, was first struck with a significant phenomenon when experimenting with a newly invented ' receiver ' of wireless telegraphy. After experiments had been carried on continuously for a couple of hours Dr. Bose found that the receiver became less sensitive, and after more prolonged work still more so, reminding one of

fatigue in the sense of 'progressive diminution of response.' When, on the other hand, the receiver was allowed to rest for several hours, it became sensitive once more. Such phenomena were, at first, merely incidental to the main inquiries; but as they multiplied they grew more and more impressive and called for inquiry. Prof. Geddes observes: "So complex are the phenomena of life, and so long have they been regarded as mysterious, that biological speculation and even experiment is open to suspicion of unsoundness, and not least among physiologists in regard to each other; and hence, at their wisest, they are critical to themselves. It was with this caution and self-criticism that Bose began; and not simply with a good deal of that fear and trembling which every respectable specialist feels when he ventures even to look over his neighbour's wall, still more to pluck a handful of the roses which are overhanging into his garden." (*"Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose."* p. 86.)

As a result of investigation Bose found a striking similarity between the responses of the living and the non-living, and in his paper read before the Paris International Congress of Physicists (in 1900) he compares and tries to show a parallelism between the responses to excitation or stimulus of living tissue with those of inorganic matter. An essentially similar paper was read before the physical section of the British Association at its Bradford meeting in September, 1900. In the ensuing winter Bose's work became more and more physiological. Looking at his problem from both sides Bose was now occupied not only with the 'Physics of Physiology,' but also with what may be called the 'Physiology of Physics.' The responses of the living and the non-living as outlined in his Paris paper, were now investigated by the electro-motive variation method with which physiologists were familiar. In this case also the responses given by the living and non-living were essentially similar in character. Dr. Bose says, "the electric response employed to obtain the excitatory re-action of living tissues, depends upon the electro-motive variation of the



substance under stimulation. This electric re-action has been regarded as vitalistic in contradistinction to physical. But I have shown that similar responses are given by inorganic substances also" (*"Comparative Electro-Physiology,"* p. 4.) "There is no tissue which is exclusively characterised by a specific type of response. - All these—staircase, uniformity, and fatigue—will occur in muscle, nerve, plant and even inorganic matter, under certain definite and appropriate conditions" (*Ibid*, p. 106).

It ought to be mentioned that the electrical response is not something different from the physiological response. "The electrical response," observes Dr. Bose, "is a true physiological response. This is demonstrated by the fact that, while a vigorous specimen gives strong electrical response of galvanometric negativity, the same specimen, when killed, whether by heat or by poison, ceases to respond. This particular electrical response is thus seen to be a concomitant of physiological efficiency" (*Ibid*, p. 129).

Not only did the 'organic' and the 'inorganic' give similar response to stimulus, but they also showed essential similarity in regard to the effects upon them of narcotic and poisons. The effects of narcotics and poisons on both animals and plants are strikingly similar. As a result of experiment Dr. Bose showed that the application of chloroform to a plant deprives it of the power of response, just as it does in the case of an animal; that with the timely blowing off of the narcotic vapour by fresh air, the plant revives and again returns to its normal state. Similarly, the application of poison to a fresh plant produced a modification of the curve of response according to the degree of the absorption of the poison,—a phenomenon essentially similar to that exhibited by a dying muscle: and that in the case of the plant, as in that of an animal, the response ultimately ceased altogether, at a point called by Dr. Bose the death-point. On the other hand, various drugs and poisons,

when given in minute doses, act as stimulants alike to the plant and the animal. This phenomenon was not, however confined to animals and plants: it was shown to be similar in the case of metals likewise. Tin, zinc, brass and even platinum were similarly dosed with various poisons, and surprisingly showed curves of response corresponding to those exhibited by poisoned plants and animals, and like the latter came to an end. Again, drugs and poisons given in minute doses were found to stimulate the metals as they do plants and animals. And such similarity between the electric response of animal tissues on the one hand, and that of plants and metals on the other, Dr. Bose tries further to illustrate by experiments in his book entitled, "Response in the Living and Non-Living." The question that Dr. Bose here raises is 'whether the response of inorganic bodies is affected by chemical reagents, so that their excitability is exalted by some and depressed or abolished by others.' In the first instance, he attempts to demonstrate experimentally that certain chemical reagents act as stimulants on metals. The effect of the stimulating action of the chemical reagent becomes evident, he thinks, by a comparison of the responses before and after the introduction of the reagent, and in the latter case the responsive character of the metal under examination is 'raised' or 'exalted.' There are, again, certain other reagents which produce an opposite effect, and these are called by him 'repressants,' for they diminish the intensity of response. The character of the 'abolition' of response is clearly seen in the effect of 'poison.' "Living tissues," he writes, "are killed, and their electric responses are at the same time abolished by the action of poisons. It is very curious that various chemical reagents are similarly effective in killing the response of metals" (*Response in the Living and Non-Living*, p. 142). Another very curious phenomenon remains to be seen here, namely that of the opposite effects produced by the same

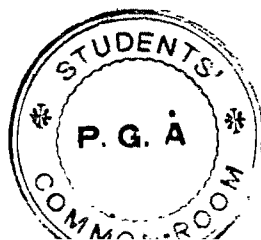
reagent when given in large or in small doses. This phenomenon is reproduced in an extraordinary manner in inorganic response also. "The same reagent which becomes a 'poison' in large quantities may act as a stimulant when applied in small doses." Thus Dr. Bose concludes "that as in the case of animal tissues and of plants so also in metals, the electrical responses are exalted by the action of stimulants, lowered by repressants, and completely abolished by certain other reagents" (*Ibid*, p. 147).

In this connexion an important point remains to be considered. We have seen above that according to Dr. Bose everything on the universe is living in one and the same sense. But it may well be objected that what is called a thing is not a simple entity, that it is a combination of elements, and if it be not shown that these constitutive parts are also living, *i.e.*, living on their own account, the problem remains unsolved. In that case Dr. Bose's sweeping generalisation of a living universe would seem to be untenable. Dr. Bose attempts, however, to show that it is not only every so-called 'thing' that exhibits the phenomena of life, but that every part of such 'thing' also presents similar phenomena. This is particularly shown, he argues, in the case of plants, where the electric response to mechanical stimulus is not only obtained from the plant as a single whole, but that such response is also obtained from the roots, stems, and leaves which are the constitutive parts of such plant. (For a detailed account, *vide* the "Journal of the Linnean Society," Vol. XXXV, p. 375.)

The modern doctrine of Relativity is supposed by some writers to lend support to the metaphysical theory of monadism, and it should be observed that though it does so from a standpoint different from that of Dr. Bose, yet the results may be said to converge towards the same end; that, namely of undermining materialism and substituting spiritualism, in its monadistic form, in its place. The doctrine of Relativity,

which is chiefly associated with the name of Einstein, has in fact, struck at the root of the older conceptions of space, time and matter. The theory of Relativity would seem to dispose of materialism even as a scientific hypothesis. "If the illusion of the scholastic method," observes Prof. Weyl in the concluding sentence of his book: *Raum, Zeit, Materie*, "is that from mere forms we can deduce essences, then the world-view which we call materialism is only a scholastic pastime." The rejection of the Newtonian concept of absolute space and time, and the substitution of space-time in its place, is incompatible with materialism, for while according to Newton space and time are endless and independent both of one another and of mind, and in which matter is said to exist, according to Einstein space is not endless but finite, and time is not in its essence independent of space, but co-ordinate with the spatial dimensions in the space-time system; and for the concept of such relative space-time systems the existence of mind is essential, or otherwise expressed, mind is the *a priori* condition of the possibility of space-time systems. "The supposed fundamental reality," observes Prof. H. W. Carr, "on which materialism as a world-view was supported has proved a vain illusion, and materialism is left in the air. The new scientific conception of the universe is monadic. The concrete unit of scientific reality is not an indivisible particle adversely occupying space and unchanging throughout time, but a system of reference the active centre of which is an observer co-ordinating his universe." In other words, what we seem warranted in concluding is that particles of matter are not 'inert' and 'dead,' but they are teeming with life.

J. K. MAZUMDAR



THE EAST IN ENGLISH LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

## 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY LITERATURE.

Among the poets who heralded the dawn of the Romantic Movement in England in the late 18th century, Cowper refers to India in the "Task" (Book III) where he describes "Charity." Gay, of "Beggar's Opera" fame, in "Black-eyed Susan" writes :

" If to fair India's coast we sail,  
My eyes are seen in diamond bright,  
My breath is Afric's spicy gale,  
My skin is ivory so white."

William Mason of the 18th century narrates in the "English Garden" (Bk. II, 34-78) a sentimental love-story, Alcander and Nerina. Alexander Pope in his "Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard" refers to Eastern Kings. Thomson in the "Seasons" (Summer) and in the "Castle of Indolence" (Part II) refers to the East. Mark Akenside in "Pleasures of Imagination" wrote :

" Who that from Alpine heights his labouring eye  
Shoots round the wide horizon, to survey  
Nilus or Ganges rolling his bright wave  
Through mountains, plains, through empires  
black with shade ? "

Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) writes of the horrors of the Mohamedan invasion of India in "Pleasures of Hope." In the "Ode to Winter," Campbell speaks of "India's citron-covered isles." The citron is a tree bearing fruit akin to the orange and the lemon. It grows wild in North India.

<sup>1</sup> For the first part of this article see Calcutta Review, Jan., 1929.

The "Oriental Eclogues" of Tom Moore are not lucky experiments. But his "Lalla Rookh" is a well-known Oriental fantasy and had great popularity in England in his time. It is the story of a Mogul Princess, daughter of Emperor Aurangjeb, who was betrothed to a Prince of Khorasan. The description of the journey from Delhi to Kashmir abounds in Eastern imageries and the Prince appeared in the camp of the Princess in the disguise of a musician, a device familiar with Indian romances.

Mrs. Felicia Hemans (1793-1835) was a picturesque, melodious and facile poetess. In one of her poems "The Indian City," she described the vandalism perpetrated by the Moslems on the Hindus. The story was borrowed from the "Oriental Memoirs" of Forbes. How beautifully she has described one of the beauty-spots in an Indian city in the lines following :

"Many a graceful Hindu maid,  
With the watervase from the palmy shade,  
Came gliding light as the desert's roe,  
Down marble steps, to the tanks below :  
And a cool sweet plashing was ever heard,  
As the molten glass of the wave was stirred,  
And a murmur, thrilling the scented air,  
Told where the Bramhin bowed in prayer."

A Moslem boy had come to this city and was attacked by the Brahmins for defiling their temple. "In the deep blue night of an Indian heaven," the boy returned to his mother to die in her arms and over the dead body of her beloved boy, the mother swore a terrible revenge and the tale of her woe "rung like a trumpet's blast" from one part of the Moslem world to another. The Tartar and the "dark chief of Araby" and others came in swarms upon the Brahmin city and soon it became a mass of ruins.

In a song based on an Arabian anecdote the poetess brings out the idea of hospitality prevalent among the Orientals which forbears the vendetta till the guest leaves the host's door. Mrs. Hemans paid a tribute to the adventurous spirit of Englishmen when she wrote, that the sons of England slumbered,

“ On Egypt's burning plains,  
By the pyramid o'erswayed,  
With fearful power the noonday reigns,  
And the palm trees yield no shade ;—”

and

• “ Along the Indian shore  
And far by the Ganges' banks at night,”

the brave sons of Britain sleep caring little for the hurricane's might and the tiger's roar.

Robert Southey's “ Curse of Kehama ” is a story from South Indian sources. Southey's lines on “ Sati ” and the “ Banyan ” tree occur in the poem. His “ Thalaba ” and W. S. Landor's “ Gebir ” are Semitic stories with an Eastern background. Landor's Rose Aylmer lived for a long time in Calcutta, *and her grave can be seen at the Park Green Cemetery*

The high-priest of the Romantic Movement lamented the extinction of that Republic that once did hold “ the gorgeous East in fee.” In one of the Sonnets (XV), Wordsworth expressed the hope that the best hopes of the earth rested with England and

“ If for Greece, Egypt, India, Africa  
Aught good were destined,”

she should step down. Evidently the poet who early in his life professed ardent republicanism, had imbibed with age Imperialist ideas. The memorial Pillar of Trajan stood ‘ amid the wrecks of time ’

“ Not injured more by touch of meddling hands  
Than a lone obelisk, 'mid Nubian sands.  
Or aught in Syrian deserts left to save  
From death the memory of the good and brave,”

In "Prelude" (Bk. X) enumerating his experiences in France during the French Revolution, Wordsworth says:

"They who had come élite as eastern hunters  
Banded beneath the Great Mogul, when he  
Erewhile went forth from Agra or Lahore,  
Rajahs and Omrahs in his train, intent  
To drive their preys enclosed within a ring  
Wide as a province, but, the signal given,  
Before the point as the life-threatening spear  
Narrowing itself by moments—they, rash men  
Had seen the anticipated quarry turned  
Into avengers, from whose wrath they fled  
In terror."

It is the description of an Eastern hunt and the animals brought to bay, being furious, the hunters fled for their safety. The revolutionaries in France also were dismayed in the same way when popular fury rose high against them. In Augustus Somerville's poem the "Chace," Part II (1674-1748) there is a description of Moughul Hunts.

Wordsworth's friend and collaborator, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, had also some knowledge of the East. In the "Ode to the Departing Year" (1796), Coleridge while speaking of the Northern conqueress (Catherine the Great of Russia) whose project was a Byzantine Empire dependent upon Russia, invoked the spirits of the unnumbered slain—

"That erst at Ismael's tower,  
When human ruin choked the streams,  
Fell in conquest's gluttoned hour.  
'Mid women's shrieks and infants' screams," . . .

to 'dance, like death-fires, round her tomb."

That extraordinary dream-fantasy, "Kubla Khan" is of imagination all compact. It was the outcome of a dream, which unhappily ended too soon. It is typically Eastern with its magic, charm, wildness and mystery. The stately pleasuredome of Kubla



Khan, the deep romantic chasm, the savage, holy and enchanted place, a woman wailing for her demon-lover, a mighty fountain momentarily forced, the ancestral voices of the Khan prophesying war, the sudden appearance of the dome of pleasure with caves of ice floating on the waves and the vision of a damsel with a dulcimer—these haunted the imagination of the opium-drunk poet and ere he could put forth into verse all the imageries, he was called by somebody and the recollections vanished soon. The poem according to the poet himself owes its origin to Coleridge's reading of Purchas's Pilgrimage.

Of all the poets of his generation, Shelley had the greatest affinity with the seers and mystics of the East. But apart from his philosophy which was similar to that of the thinkers of the East, his poetry abounds in references to the East and shows a genuine admiration for the Orient. His "Lines to an Indian Air," where "the champak odours fail like sweet thoughts in dream" are well-known. In "Prometheus Unbound," the fearless Titan awaits in a ravine of icy rocks in the Indian Caucasus, the arrival of his beloved Asia, who

"Waits in that far Indian vale  
The scene of her sad exile; rugged once  
And desolate and frozen, like this ravine;" (Act I).

In Act II, Panthea narrates one of her dreams to Asia in the following way :

"Methought  
As we sate here, the flower-infolding buds  
Burst on you lightning-blasted almond-tree,  
When swift from the white Scythian wilderness  
A wind swept forth wrinkling the earth with frost."

When the victorious Titan, comes to the Caucasus, borne in a car with the Spirits of the Hour, accompanied by Hercules, Ione, Panthea, Asia and the Spirits of the Earth, he chooses a cave of that mountain as the simple dwelling place for the rest of his life with Asia.

*Shelley suggests frequent use of the East - "Juggernaut"*

In the "Triumph of Life," Shelley speaks of an Indian isle. The "Revolt of Islam," as the title of the poem suggests, deals with an incident somewhere in the realm of an Eastern tyrant. Both here and in "Queen Mab," the poet names the eastern teachers of religion and the gods of Oriental mythology, Ormoze, Christ, Mahomet, Moses, Buddha, Zerdusht, Brahma and Foh, Seeva, Jehovah, etc. In "Hellas," Mahomed appears as a rival claimant for Greece. The wandering and lonely poet in "Alastor" is tended affectionately by an Arab maiden. The poet wandered "through Arabie and Persia and the Carmanian waste, and over the aerial mountains which pour down Indus and Oxus from their icy caves." Near "the lone Chorasman shore...a wide and melancholy waste of putrid marshes," the poet found a little boat and embarked it to meet "lone death on the drear ocean's waste," while the "ethereal cliffs of Caucasus" looked on, unable to save the poet from doom.

Keats, though his mind was steeped in the spirit of the lost days of forgotten Hellas and the romance and magic-wonder of the Middle Ages, was not blind to the charms of the East. In the "Endymion," there is something of oriental bewilderment—an Arabian Nights jugglery with space and time, so thinks Sir Sidney Colvin. In his search over land and sea throughout the whole earth, Endymion is enamoured of an Indian maiden who had come wandering in the train of Bacchus from the East. This maiden was none other than his own beloved goddess in disguise. She sings a dirge as follows,

" Ah, woe is me that I should fondly part  
From my dear native land. Ah, foolish maid,  
Glad was the hour, when with thee, myriads bade  
Adieu to Ganges and their pleasant fields."

Love-lorn Endymion asks :

" Didst thou not after other climates call  
And murmur about Indian streams?"

And he addressed her, "My Indian bliss, Thou Swan of Ganges." The episode "conjures up the image of deserted

maidenhood beside Indian streams." Colvin opines that Keats commingled here the tenderness of the Elizabethan lovesongs, the immemorial romance of India and the East, the weird power of Coleridge, the vision of Greek beauty and the wildness of the Celtic imagination.

But none of this fraternity of poets was more enamoured of the glamour of the East or knew it better than the unfortunate poet Byron. Indeed his Eastern tales raised him to the height of popularity. He visited the famous Ali Pasha of Janina (whose varied fortunes Dumas described in "the Count of Monte Cristo") and with the escort cordially furnished by the Pasha visited the interior of the Turkish territory. His Eastern tour besides creating a romantic halo round his name, was fruitful from a literary point of view, because as a result of his tour, he gave to the world, "Childe Harold (I & II)," "The Giaour," "The Siege of the Corinth," "The Corsair," "The Bride of Abydos," etc. Thus he sings of the East :

"Know Ye the land where the cypress and myrtle  
Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime,  
Where the rage of the vulture, the love of the turtle,  
Now melt into sorrow, now madden to crime?  
Know Ye the land of cedar and vine  
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine  
Where the light wings of Zephyr, oppressed with perfume,  
Wax faint o'er the Gardens of Goul in her bloom;  
Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,  
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;  
Where the tints of the earth, and the hues of the sky  
In colour though varied, in beauty may vie,  
And the purple of the Ocean is deepest in dye;  
Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine  
And all, save the spirit of man, is divine?  
'Tis the clime of the East; tis 'the land of the sun  
Can he smile on such deeds as his children have done?  
Oh wild as the accents of love's farewell  
Are the hearts which they bear, and the tales who they tell."

(BRIDE OF ABYDOS.)

He compares Napoleon to Timour in the Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte and in the song of a Greek in "Don Juan" (the Isles of Greece) he charges the fallen Greeks to shake off the Turkish yoke. In the "Curse of Minerva," he makes a forecast of the Indian Mutiny and in a monody written after Sheridan's death the politician's services to India are eulogised. His Eastern heroines Leila, Zuleika and Haidee are the brightest of Eastern beauties and his Hassan and Selim are true sons of the East. Haidee's "orange silk full trousers furled about the prettiest ankle in the world." The Moslem hordes in the "Siege of Corinth"—the Tartar, the Spahi and Turcoman raise their war-cry with "Alla Hu." Don Juan suffered many a shipwreck in the Eastern seas and was sold as a slave to Sultana Gulnair and was introduced into her harem as a female. Byron indulges into a little indecency in the description of the dishevelled state of the female apartments at night.

With the foundation, however, of England's Eastern Empire in India, more opportunities of interchange of thoughts and ideas grew up and a large community of writers sprang up who wrote on Eastern themes having lived in the East or during their residence there. But they, strictly speaking, cannot be included for discussion here as it would entail a lot of space.<sup>1</sup> Many of the retired Civilians in the Company's service settled in England with the vast wealth which they had amassed in India and people gave them the title of "Nabobs." The Nabob M. P.s and retired Anglo-Indians were the subjects of attack in the "Rolliad," a collection of 18th century satires. Sir Philip Francis, the arch-enemy of Warren Hastings, is regarded as the author of the mysterious "Letters of Junius." Sir Philip's exploits in India are well known.

Edmund Burke who stands supreme among the masters of English prose and whose orations are some of the most brilliant pieces in English literature was a devoted admirer of the East.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. F. Oaten in "Anglo-Indian Literature," Dr. T. O. D. Dunn in "Poets of the John Company" have partly dealt with the subject.

His espousal of the cause of India during the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings is well known and living in a distant country in an age when communications were not so easy, the Irish statesman paid a noble tribute to "The Institutions of the Hindu."

Burke was assisted by R. B. Sheridan who was one of the best dramatists of the later 18th century. In "The Duenna," Don Antonio, speaks of Don Ferdinand's father, "He has a singular affection for music, so I left him roaring at his barred window like the print of Bajazet in the case." Bajazet was an Ottoman Sultan who was made prisoner at Angora by Timur. Sheridan had probably seen a coloured print of the Sultan in some shop, though not in the cage. In "The School for Scandal," Sir Oliver questions Joseph Surface if Mr. Stanley had ever transmitted him bullion-rupees-Pagodas. Rupee and Pagoda were Indian coins. The former is the usual silver currency in India. Joseph answers:—

"Oh dear sir nothing of the kind. No, no—a few presents now and then China, Shawl, Congou tea, avadavats, and Indian crackers—little more, believe me." "Avadavats" is corrupted from "Ahmadabad," whence a great number of little song-birds were exported to Europe.

Hazlitt wrote an essay on the "Indian jugglers"—a company very popular even to-day with Englishmen. Lamb's "Dissertation upon Roast Pig" is a funny story of a Chinese Mandarin and his son. In "Old China" Lamb imagines 'a young and courtly Mandarin, handing tea to a lady from a salver,' a lady "stepping into a little fairy boat, with a dainty mincing foot," and sees horses, trees, pagodas, a cow and rabbit through the lucid atmosphere of fine Cathay. "Elia" himself was a respected clerk in the office of the Honourable East India Company's Directors, who pensioned him on a handsome annuity. Leigh Hunt wrote a poem on "Abu Ben Adhem," a Mahomedan saint, and another poem "Mahmoud" describing an act of duty by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

Thomas De Quincey's "Revolt of the Tartars" is a historical incident, where "fancy, logic and actuality are blended." In the "Confessions of an Opium-eater," De Quincey narrates his transportations to Asiatic regions and the story of a Malay servant. While referring to Michelet's History of France, De Quincey speaks of "Moorish temples of the Hindus" which is rather unintelligible. Was he in one of his opium-moods when he wrote these words? *Certainly.*

William Makepeace Thackeray, the eminent Victorian novelist was born in Calcutta, where his father was in the East India Company's service. The house he was born in, is located in the road now known as the Free School Street. Although the boy was sent to England at the age of six, young Thackeray must have retained some of his impressions of the East, which no doubt were further supplemented by his contact with retired Anglo-Indians, of whom he made so much fun in his novels and whom he caricatured to some extent. Becky Sharp in the "Vanity Fair" had read the Arabian Nights and "she had built for herself a most magnificent castle in the air, of which she was mistress, with a husband somewhere in the background; she had arrayed herself in an infinity of shawls, turbans, and diamond necklaces, and had mounted upon an elephant to the sound of the march in 'Blue Beard,' in order to pay a visit of ceremony to the Grand Mogul. Charming Alnaschar visions!" The East evidently was to persons of Becky's mentality an El Dorado—the land of illimitable wealth which could be got for the mere asking. Joseph Sedley, the Bengal Civilian was the Collector of Boggley Wollah, a district noted for its virulent diseases, with the nearest town forty miles off. He was for ten years in Bengal and saved enough money for a comfortable life of retirement. William Dobbin used to spell over a copy of the Arabian Nights which he possessed. "William Dobbin had for once forgotten the world, and was away with Sindabad the Sailor in the Valley of Diamonds, or with Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Peribanu in that delightful cavern where the prince

found her." The Lady Emily "had correspondence with clerical gentlemen in most of our East and West India possession." Joseph Sedley had also an Indian servant. In the "Newcomes," we meet an Indian of fabulous wealth—Rammun Loll, the celebrated Indian merchant, otherwise His Excellency Rammun Loll, otherwise His Highness Rammun Loll, the chief proprietor of the diamond mines in Golconda, with a claim of three millions and a half upon the East India Company—who smoked his hookah after dinner. In the same novel there is one Kurbash Pasha, an erstwhile hairdresser from Marseilles, who passing on to Egypt laid aside the tongs for the turban. There is also one Mr. Binnie of the Civil Service, who having spent half of his life in Bengal returned to England in the same boat with Colonel Newcome. But in Thackeray there is no real picture of the East as he was too much engrossed with the life of the retired Anglo-Indians in England and so his treatment of life in the East loses much of its charm.

Dickens, however, was perhaps too busy with life in England but he could not escape the time-spirit and so in his novels there are occasional references to the East. Jonas Chuzzlewit, one of the greatest rascals in Dickens, is the philanthropic secretary and organiser of the Anglo-Bengali Disinterested Loan Company, a concern which paid him substantially and cost the credulous share-holders not a little. In "David Copperfield" the husband of Miss Betsey Trotwood, younger than herself, went to India with his capital and there according to a family legend was once seen riding on an elephant in company with a Baboon. But David Copperfield thinks it must have been a Baboo or a Begum. (Chap. I.) To young Copperfield the idea of living in Peagotty's boathouse seemed a pleasanter one than in Aladdin's palace. Steerforth at Crackle's school made Copperfield tell him stories, a business as tiresome as Sultana Seherzadi's. (Chap. VII.) Dr. Strong's mother-in-law carried her cap in a "Hindu basket." (Chap. XII.) Jack Malden was sent to India as a cadet or something of that nature and Copperfield looked upon

him as a modern Sindabad and pictured him as the bosom friend of all the Rajahs in the East, sitting under canopies, smoking curly golden pipes—a mile long. Julia Millis came from India married to an old Scotch Croesus and she had a black servant and copper-coloured maid. From all these references it is evident that Dickens had read the Arabian Nights and his mind was saturated with these tales.

The same might be said of George Eliot. In "Adam Bede," Captain Donnithorne tells Mr. Irwine that when he was a little fellow he used to think that if ever he became a rich Sultan, he would make Adam his Grand Vizier and he believed that Adam would bear the exaltation as well as any poor wise man in an Eastern story. Wilkie Collins in "Black Robe" makes Mr. Winterfield say, "I confess I have a certain sympathy with sun-worship. In the East specially, the rising of the sun is surely the grandest of all objects—the visible symbol of a beneficent Deity, who gives life, warmth, and light to the world of his creation." The ancient Iranians were Sun-worshippers, and the Parsis of the Bombay Presidency still profess that faith.

Thomas Babington Macaulay was connected with India as Law Member of the Governor-General's Council and he was the promulgator of the famous Indian Educational Minute. But Macaulay had a very poor opinion of the culture of the East and in his advocacy of Warren Hastings he shewed a great lack of restraint and exhibited gross perversity of mind when he characterised lying as the offensive and defensive weapon of the people of the Gangetic Valley. To him the East was nothing but a field for exploitation by Englishmen. With his usual brilliance of language he left a living picture of the holy city of Benares as it was in those days in the essay on Warren Hastings. Carlyle had a better sense of appreciation of Eastern civilization. In "Heroes and Hero-Worship," he placed Mahomet as one of the greatest heroes of the world. Cardinal Newman in the "Northmen" left a description of the Tartars of Central and



Eastern Asia, the first of a series of lectures on Turkish history delivered at the Catholic University of Liverpool, at a time when England was on the eve of going on war against Russia on behalf of Turkey. Benjamin Disraeli always connected the East with England's Imperial designs. He remarked in "Sybil" that infanticide was practised as extensively and legally in England as on the banks of the Ganges. He was probably thinking of the custom of offering young children by their mothers at the Ganga Sagar. His father Isaac Disraeli translated the story of Laila and Majnun. Disraeli's "Tancred quite openly holds out to the troubled, diseased West the vision of the land where the source of inspiration never runs dry, the Holy East, and the Asia of the Prophets." (P. 356, History of English Literature by Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian.) Meredith's "The Shaving of Shagpat" is a fantastic and unreal prose romance of the East. It reads like an Arabian Nights' fairy tale. Lieutenant Patterne in "The Egoist" is a naval officer somewhere in the East. Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Master of Ballantrae" had an Indian servant, Secundra Dass who could speak in English. (Chap. VII. The Adventure of Chevalier Burke in India.) In the last chapter of the book the Hindu servant helps in the burial of his master.

Tennyson's "Recollections of the Arabian Nights" is reminiscent of "Bagdat's shrines of fretted gold" and "the golden prime of good Haroun Al Raschid." The poet gazes on a lovely Persian beauty,

"Serene with argent-lidded eyes  
 Amorous, and lashes like to rays  
 . . . Of darkness, and a brow of pearl  
 Tressed with redolent ebony.  
 In many a dark delicious curl,  
 Flowing beneath her rose-hued zone,  
 The sweetest lady of the time."

"Fatima" is the lament of an Eastern maiden for her lover who is away from her side. In the "Dream of Fair

Women," the dashing and haughty Cleopatra and the meek daughter of the warrior Gileadite who sacrificed herself for her tribe's welfare, are contrasts of Eastern beauties. The hero of "Locksley Hall" pines :

" For some retreat  
Deep in yonder shining Orient, where my life began to beat;  
Where in wild Marhatta-battle fell my father evil-starred;—  
I was left a trampled orphan, and a selfish uncle's ward."

But that the representative poet of the Victorian Age had no high regard for the East is evident from his exclamation in the same poem :

" Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

Among the various victories of the Duke of Wellington the poet mentions his victory against the Marhattas at the battle of Assaye. (" Far away against the myriads of Assaye, clashed with his fiery few and won.") In the magnificent sonnet addressed to Milton, Tennyson thinks of the refulgent sunset of India spreading over a rich ambrosial ocean isle. The "Defence of Lucknow" was a stirring eulogium of the Mutiny days in India. In one of his earlier poems, "The Expedition of Nadir Shah into Hindostan," Tennyson touches upon the ravages done by this cruel conqueror in India.

In "Akbar's Dream," Tennyson imagines the hopes and aspirations of a Moghul Emperor. John Q. Saxe (1816-87), a minor poet of the 19th century in two poems—"The King and the Cottager" (a Persian legend) and "The Blindman and the Elephant" (a Hindu fable), treated two Eastern stories.

Browning's "Ferishta's Fancies" (1884)—a collection of Eastern tales in verse are all inventions. Strictly speaking they belong to the poet's religious philosophy. In these poems we meet the familiar Eastern characters—the Melon Seller, the Camel Driver, etc. The poem on "Clive" in the "Dramatic Idylls," Vol. II (1880) refers to Clive's victory at Arcot and Plassey. Karshish, the Arab physician, sends an epistle to his

teacher Abib on a strange medical experience. (The case of Lazarus.) "Through Metidja to Abd-El-Kadr" describes the journey of an Arab chief on horseback who resisted the French in 1833. Mrs. Browning touches the custom of floating lamps in the rivers by Indian maidens in the evening in the "Romance of the Ganges." But the poetess was mistaken in the belief that they sent out these lamps as remembrances to their lovers. In fact they do so for the prosperity and happiness of their families. In Dante Gabriel Rossetti's poetry the air of Nineveh and Palestine faintly blows in. William Morris adapted the story of Chandrhasa in "The Man who was born to be King." Matthew Arnold was indebted to the Persian epic Shah Nama for the materials of his "Sohrab and Rustum." Arnold succeeded in diffusing an Eastern atmosphere over his narrative and the element of fatalism which looms so largely on the poem in an Oriental ingredient. It is the relentless Kismet or destiny that works up the tragedy. The Tartar horsemen come from the regions of the Oxus, Bokhara and Khiva. In their company arrive the Southern Turkmans, the Tukas, the Salore lancers, men from the Caspian sands, those from Ferghana and the wilder hordes of Kipchak, the northern Kalmucks and Kuzzaks and the wandering Kirghizzes from Pamère. Some of the similes in "Sohrab and Rustum" are typically Eastern. When Sohrab threw out the challenge, the Persians held their breath like,

"A troop of pedlars from Cabool,  
Cross underneath the Indian Caucasus,  
That vast sky-neighbouring mount of milksnow;  
Crossing so high, that as they mount, they pass  
Long flocks of travelling birds dead on the snow,  
Choked by the air, and scarce can they themselves  
Slake their parched throats with sugar'd mulberries—  
In single file they move, and stop their breath,  
For fear they should dislodge the overhanging snows."

The similes of the Persian diver whose wife weeps by

sandy Bahrein, Rustum's cudgel resembling the trunks of trees that men in India pick up from the Bias and the Jhelum to build their boats, the Griffin imprinted on the arm of Sohrab as finely as an Emperor's porcelain vase wrought by a skilled workman in Pekin, Rustum lying by his son like the ruined pillars of Jemshid's palace at Persepolis—are all Eastern through and through. Arnold had a link with the East. His brother Delafield Arnold was Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab and died there. The sorrow for this dead brother finds expression in "Southern Night." In "Obermann," Arnold refers to the Asiatic invasion of Alexander and the "splendid isolation" of the East when the storm passed away,

" The East bowed low before the blast  
In patient, deep disdain,  
She let the legions thunder past,  
And plunged in thought again."

Aubrey de Vere and Aytoun also write of Alexander's invasion. James Magnan wrote an Oriental song "The Karmanian Exile." "Owen Meredith," the Second Lord Lytton, was Viceroy and Governor-General of India. But he made little use of his experiences.

Bayard Taylor (1825-1870) was an indefatigable traveller and with "Poem of the Orient" he won renown as a ballad-poet. Sir Edwin Arnold's (1832-1904) "Light of Asia" though not a great poem, opened to the English public the life and teachings of Buddha. He translated the Sanskrit lyric the "Gita-Govinda" and the famous, "Bhagabat Gita." (The Song Celestial). His drama "Adzuma" is a picture of Japanese life. Besides these he wrote a large number of poems on Indian life and history. William Alexander Kinglake (1809-1891) in "Eothen" threw a flood of light on the conditions in Turkey, Palestine, Galilee, Egypt and Persia in the earlier part of the 19th century. Lawrence Oliphant, another traveller of those days left an account of a "Mission to China and Japan."

Augusta Webster (1837-1894) shows a delicate orientalism in a poem named "Yu-pe-Ya's Lute." Sir Francis Hastings Doyle (1810-1888) commemorated some martial incidents that had happened in the East in poems like "The Private of the Buffs," "The Red Thread of Honour." "The Guides of Kabul" (1879) of Sir Henry Newbolt falls in the same class. These are streaked with Anglo-Saxon race-arrogance and idea of White-superiority. Exception must be made of Newbolt's "Ballad of Sir Pertab Singh." Thomas Gordon Hake's poem "Snake Charmer" describes well this specimen of humanity in the East. Edward Fitzgerald's "Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam," though an adaptation in his own inimitable style, preserves much of its original Orientalism. Francis Thompson wrote a lovesong in the Arabian spirit. Mrs. Caroline Norton (1808-87) in a poem "The Arab's Farewell to his Steed" brings out nicely the fondness of the master for his faithful horse.

In Sir Alfred Lyall's (born 1835) poems the romance of Anglo-India is portrayed. He is responsible for the well-known phrase "The Land of Regrets." Among other Eastern poems of his may be mentioned "The Hindu Ascetic," "The Old Pindaree." Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay in 1865. His father Lockwood Kipling, C.I.E., was at one time a Professor in the Bombay School of Arts and then Curator of the Lahore Museum. Kipling worked on the editorial staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer*. Kipling vividly depicted the official life of the Englishman in the "Departmental Ditties" a series of funny poems on the varied official life in India amid redtape, cliques, clublands and whisky-soda. "Under the Deodars," "In Black and White," "The Phantom Rickshaw, etc.," are all on the East. He won his early laurels with the "Plain Tales from the Hills" and later on with that marvellous book "Kim." But his interest in the East is chiefly Jingoistic. "The India of magic and superstition, the India of famine and pestilence, the India of the Civil Service" lives in Kipling's

pages. The struggles, the failures, the glories, the shame of Anglo-Indian life are revealed by him. The terrible heat of India is felt in the "City of Dreadful Night." The Indian administration has been pictured in the "Head of the District." But Kipling had no real sympathy for the East nor any feeling of kinship. To him, "The East is East, the West is West and the twain shall never meet."

Joseph Conrad makes the Far East the back-ground of many of his stories of naval adventure. He had travelled extensively in the Eastern seas. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Dr. Watson was a Surgeon in the Indian Army during one of the Afghan Wars and some of the events in "The Sign of Four" take place in India, the action centring round the precious "Agra stones." Edward Garnett's story "Anand the Miracle Worker" is a tale of the days of Lord Buddha.<sup>1</sup> Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) was one of the best interpreters of the East to the West. He was a Professor in Tokio, married in Japan and settled there. In his studies of Japan he finds out the hidden source of the calm and sustained philosophy of the East.<sup>2</sup> In Bernard Shaw, however, there is no lack of references to the East. But there is always the usual sarcastic Shavian humour. In "Caesar and Cleopatra" there is a nameless Persian, "sly-looking and young," who is addressed by the Egyptian guardsman as "O! Serpent, O! subtlest of all serpents, O! admiration, O! wisdom, O! cynic," etc. In "Arms and the Man," the General sits on an ottoman and enjoys a "hookah." In "Getting Married," Mrs. George the Mayoress is called "Durga" by Hotchkiss, the society-rake. In "John Bull's Other Island" Shaw refers to the Hindu belief that misfortunes are brought upon man by sins committed in a former birth. To this Broadbent (the Englishman)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pilgrim Kamanita* by Karl Guellarp, a novel of Buddha's time.

<sup>2</sup> *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, 1894; *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*, 1897; *Japan: an attempt at interpretation*, 1904.

remarks, "That is a remarkable tribute to the liberty of conscience enjoyed by the subjects of our Indian Empire." The pioneers of the Celtic Movement in Ireland are ardent admirers of the East. W. B. Yeats has an affinity with Oriental mysticism.<sup>1</sup> In "Crossways" (1888-89) there are several poems on Eastern subjects—Anushuya and Vijaya, The Indian upon God, The Indian to his Love. James H. Cousins has lived long in the East to be able to appreciate its culture and literature. His "King's Wife" is a play on Mirabai, the Queen of Mewar. A.E. has written a poem "Krishna." James Stephens, another Irish poet, has written a play "Krishna." Among Americans Emerson and Lowell were both admirers of the East. Emerson's "Bramha" is a poem on one of the gods of Hindu Trinity. Lowell's "Mahmood—the Image Breaker" deals with the invasion of India by Mahmood of Ghazni. Whitman's "Passage to India" and "Salute Au Moude," Longfellow's "Trisankar," Lowell's "Oriental Apologue" Whittier's "The Pipes at Lucknow" are some of the examples of the treatment of the East in American Poetry. The American poet Halleck (1790-1867) refers to India and Persia in his poem "Marco Bozzaris"—the Greek revolutionary.

Among the works of more modern writers mention may be made of James Elroy Flecker's "Hassan"—a drama of the days of Haroun al Raschid and "War Song of the Saracens," Ben Kendim's "Eastern Songs," Edmund Candler's "Siri-ram" and "Abdication," Edward Thompson's "Krishna Kumari," "Atonement" (a play of Modern India), "An Indian Day," Robert Hichens's "Garden of Allah," etc. In H. G. Wells's "Joan and Peter" there is one Mir Jelaluddin, an educated Indian Moslem. Algernon Blackwood and Violet Peam have jointly a play "Karma: a Reincarnation Play." Kathlyn Rhodes in "The Lure of the Desert," "The Desert

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee—*Calcutta Review*, March, 1928—W. B. Yeats (Part I), page 286; *ibid*—April, 1928, p. 84 and p. 101.

Dreamers" and "The Will of Allah" give vivid descriptions of the enchanting scenery of the East. Edward Knoblock's "Kismet" is an Arabian Night play in three acts. Dickinson in "English Drama of To-day" attributes Oscar Wilde's "Salome," Gilbert's "Mikado," Massfield's "The Faithful" to Eastern influences. Frank Vernon in "Twentieth Century Theatre" observed that a wave of stage orientalism and decoratordom flooded the Theatre of the Flappers in 1914-1918. The Oriental pantomimes "Sumurum," "Kismet," "Chin Chin Chow" are some of the best specimens of this Orientalism. (Page 71.) Laurence Binyon in "The Statues" and Alfred Noyes in "A Japanese Song" show admiration for the East.

Ernest Bramah modelled his tales of Chinese life—"The Wallet of Kai Lung," "Kai Lung's Golden Hours" on the Arabian Nights. A. S. M. Hutchinson, author of "If Winter Comes" was born at Gorakhpur in the United Provinces. E. P. Oppenheim tired of Continental spies and diplomats went to the Far East for the heroes of his two more recent novels—"The Great Prince Shan" and "The Illustrious Prince." The Prince Shan, a hero of Modern China, and the illustrious Prince Maiyo of Japan are far abreast of Western politicians in outlook and urbanity. But works of this type cannot be regarded as literature in the strictest and highest sense. Every year the English Press sends out legions of novels of the profane kind in which the scene of action is laid in the East or Eastern characters are introduced.<sup>1</sup> But the aim there is not the faithful representation of Eastern life and manners nor the appreciation of the culture of the East. They are nothing but the eulogiums of the valour and strength of the Anglo-Saxon race and a shameless distortion of the people of the East, often painted as base cowards flying before the

<sup>1</sup> During the months of April, May and June, 1925 no less than 20 novels of the above type were published in England, the scenes of action being laid in India, Ceylon, China, the Far East, Central Asia, Tibet, etc. Space forbids the author from naming them.



superior strength of the White Man, whose mission in life is to civilize the more unfortunate races of the earth. The Sheikhsmania which is such a prominent characteristic of contemporary fiction and screen-land is nothing but a veiled manifestation of the same mentality.

Speaking at the East India Association in London in 1925 on "India's Gifts to England," Mr. Stanley P. Rice, a retired Indian Civil Service man truly said that England has not made the best possible use of the spiritual outlook of ancient Sanskrit literature, of the old religious books, of the Hindu scriptures, of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and the Indian dramas. Not one Englishman in ten, he added, has ever heard of Kabir, Tulsidas and Tukaram. (Journal of the East India Association, April, 1925.) The same remarks might apply to the whole East. In Professor Moulton's "World Literature," a volume of 465 pages, the whole literature of the East is unceremoniously dismissed with 15 pages.

Briefly, to sum up, the treatment of the East in English Literature falls into four periods. The Anglo-Saxon writers refer to the East in the vaguest and most hazy way, their source of information and authority being the works of the Greeks and the Romans. In the Anglo-Norman Period the East is depicted as a land of magic-charm, wonder and adventure. The same idea pervades the Middle-English Period. With the opening-up of the trade-routes in the Elizabethan Age a more well-marked knowledge of the East is noticed. But the conception of the East at that time was that of a land of gold and vast wealth. Since then English writers have had better opportunities of understanding the mind of the East. But it is doubtful how few of them have availed themselves of arriving at the real truth. The Eastern mind is still a sealed book to Englishmen. During recent years many works have been written in England about the East. But these far from helping to the better understanding of the East have made matters

worse. Much of the bitter feeling could have been dispelled if English writers had exercised a little more restraint and possessed a more liberal outlook. Of course there have been honourable exceptions from time to time. But the general run of writers have been biassed from the very start. Whenever they made any serious attempt at trying to probe deeply they have failed. The outer glitter and splendour of Eastern life have appealed to them. The East still remains to them the land of mystics and yogis, where mystery and enchantment dog a man at every step and where but to live is to live a life of pleasure, luxury and magnificence, where according to this class of writers the mere presence of an Englishman or more precisely a Briton is an inspiring influence. They have evidently taken no stock of the vast change that has taken place in the East in course of the present century. To the materialistic mind of the Westerner the Awakening of Asia, the Renaissance of the East, are still things inconceivable. But sure some day he will be disillusioned and that would be when it may be too late.

Literature, the mission of which is a noble one must be able to play a great part in the mutual sympathetic and tolerant recognition of each other and in removing much of the present misunderstanding and misgiving so that we might be able to say with the poet that on the shores of the vast Eastern oceans the union of the nations of the earth shall be accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

#### JAYANTAKUMAR DAS GUPTA

<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of the first part of this paper on the above subject the following references to the East in Elizabethan literature have been very kindly brought to the author's notice by Mr. J. A. L. Swan, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust :—

(1) "The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads.

Do grow beneath their shoulders."—Othello, Act I, Sc. III.

The Anthropophagi were a people living in Scythia and are first mentioned by Herodotus and then by Pliny. They are mentioned also by some English writers of the second half of the 16th century like Gilpin, Eden and Scott. Dekker in "Satiromastix" calls Ben Jonson an Anthropophagist. Greene first introduced this word in his "Selimus." Shakespeare's source was Holland's "Plinie's Natural Historie" (1601).

(2) "Egregious viceroys of these eastern parts."—Marlowe,

Tamburlaine, Part II, Act I, Sc. I.

## Reviews

**The Vedanta according to Sankara and Ramanuja.** By S. Radhakrishnan, King George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published in London.

Professor Radhakrishnan who now adorns the King George V Chair of Philosophy in the Calcutta University has just brought out a reprint of two chapters from his larger work on Indian philosophy, entitled "Vedanta according to Sankara and Ramanuja." The work is worthy of his reputation as a thorough master and capable teacher of the Vedanta. There is hardly any work in English which makes a comparative study of the views of these two greatest teachers of the Vedanta. Professor Radhakrishnan is a remarkable scholar and a lovable personality. He is held in high esteem by most of his learned countrymen throughout Bengal for the valuable services which he has rendered to the cause of education in general and of Hindu philosophy in special. He is instrumental in removing many a dark doubt and in placing the Vedanta philosophy in its true light and colour. When many of the modern interpreters of the Vedanta are bringing about a narrow outlook and wrong and misleading sense, and our estimate of Sankara is in danger of being weighed down by the load of such incorrect and prejudiced expositions, we particularly welcome this great work of Professor Radhakrishnan as the most opportune one which will move us to pull down the solid walls of ignorance in our effort to gain the right meaning of the Adwaita theory. The doctrines as propounded by Sankara and Ramanuja are admittedly complicated ones, and many a doubt and misgiving envelop our mind in darkness, as we approach the study of these teachers. But Professor Radhakrishnan's great work will give us courage and spur us on to move in the right direction;—the doubts of the mind and knotty questionings of our heart will gradually melt away.

The author has put the whole theory of Sankara in all its phases and aspects in clear, broad outlines and the method he has adopted is most attractive and interesting. He has collected together the most salient points of the great Adwaitavada and arranging them under a few broad topics, analysed and discussed them in clear language. The involved and sombre nature of the language in which most of the philosophical works are presented now-a-days scares away the readers at the outset. But the easy flow, the clear and charming style and the masterly diction of the

language in which the subject-matter is dealt with in the book under review, we can unhesitatingly say, will help to make it hold its own against the best philosophical works of the present day. His style possesses the rare virtue of what is known in Sanskrit as *Prashāda* which, like a drop of oil cast on the surface of water, spreads instantly on all sides. Great ideas put in a couple of short sentences, in consequence of the clearness of the language used, at once take possession of, and sink deep into, the mind, leaving no corner untouched and uninfluenced. His competency to teach the most abstruse points of the Hindu philosophy is unquestioned; his range of reading is extensive, as is evident from many a lengthy discussion on several topics and in the quotations of the various authorities given in the footnotes.

The amount of work which the learned Professor has done within the comparatively short period of his connection with this University, the tremendous influence he has exerted and the rapid growth of interest he has done so well to foster among the students of philosophy in the creation of a demand for knowledge of Indian philosophy, is due to his knowledge and enthusiasm. It is he who, by such good works as these, has placed Hindu philosophy on the world-current, beyond its isolated and restricted limits.

Another most striking feature of the book is its sympathetic view which runs through its pages. A patriot to the very marrow, his heart overflows with a deep sympathy for the interpretation of two of the greatest pillars of Indian monism and his treatment of the subject has in consequence been marked with a thoroughness quite in accord with the ancient tradition which, we are sure, will make a mark on the history of the world. The great *Māyā* theory—a theory misunderstood even by the scholars of great eminence—has been so ably and brilliantly treated that the learned author has proved, beyond a possible shadow of doubt, that the charge of the illusory character of the world, so often laid at the door of Sankara branding the great *Savant* as a Buddhist at heart, has been without any foundation in truth. The charming and easy language, as we have remarked above, in which the sublime *Brahma-Vidyā* has been presented in the book, has made the work a very pleasant study and the reader will get on to the end without experiencing any boredom or fatigue. With the help of this book those who are interested in Vedānta will be able to enter into the rich store-house of the two most famous schools of the *Brahma-Sūtra*. Everywhere the learned author speaks with authority and the reader becomes sure that he has gained the true view. As a specimen of the extraordinary lucidity of the style of the author, we cannot resist the

temptation to quote here his discussions on the problem whether Sankara advocates the view that the world is illusory:—

“ We may here bring together certain considerations which support the phenomenal as against the illusory character of the world. Avidyá by itself cannot be the cause of the world, since it is as dead as the *pradhana* of the *Sankhya*. Sankara who criticised the latter view, cannot be expected to support the theory of the creation of the world by Avidyá. We have also to bear in mind Sankara's criticism of the Buddhist chain of causation which starts with Avidyá. ‘ Now Avidyá is a mental fiction of a conscious subject. It is the first link in the twelve-linked chain of causation, which consequently must be regarded as taking for granted the aggregates of the mind and the body, without, however, showing how they come together.’ Sankara rejects the theory that nothing exists, neither matter nor mind (*Sunyaváda*), as well as the theory that nothing exists for more than one moment (*Kshanabhanga-váda*). The refutation of the Buddhist theory of Subjectivism (*Vijnána-váda*) is decisive on the question of the externality of the world to the thinking subject. Existence is not dependent on our mental modes: when the world is said to be of the form of knowledge (*jñanaswarupa*), the metaphysical truth is described. Similarly Sankara rejects all attempts to reduce waking experience to the level of dreams. He does not admit that the world is a product of mere *avidyá*. Avidyá in Sankara is not a mere subjective force, but has an objective reality. It is the cause of the whole material world which is common to all (*Sarvasádhárana*). Sankara argues that the supreme reality of Brahman is the basis of the world. If Brahman were absolutely different from the world, if the *Ātmā* were absolutely different from the states of waking, dreaming and sleeping, then the repudiation of the reality of the world or the three states cannot lead us to the attainment of truth. We shall then have to embrace nihilism and treat all teaching as purposeless. The illusory snake does not spring out of nothing, nor does it pass into nothing when the illusion is corrected. The pluralistic universe is an error of judgment. Correction of the error means change of opinion. The rope appears as a snake, and when the illusion is over, the snake returns to the rope. So does the world of experience become transfigured in the intuition of Brahman. The world is not so much negated as reinterpreted. The conception of *jivanmukti*, the idea of *kramamukti*, the distinction of values, of truth and error, of virtue and vice, the possibility of attaining *moksha* through the world of experience, imply that there is Reality in appearance; Brahman is in the world, though not as the world. If the world of experience were illusory and unrelated to Brahman, love, wisdom and

asceticism could not prepare us for the higher life. In so far as Sankara allows that we can realise the Absolute through the practice of virtue, he allows a significance to it. Unreal the world is, illusory it is not. \* \* \* If there were not a Brahman, then we could have neither empirical being nor illusion. 'A barren woman cannot be said to give birth to a child either in reality or in illusion.' If the world be regarded as baseless, as not rooted in any reality, as having its origin in non-being, then we shall have to repudiate all reality, even that of Brahman. The world has the real for its basis, for 'not even the mirage can exist without a basis.' That kind of dream which God creates, of which God is the substance, is no dream at all. If we are able to penetrate to the real through this world it is because the world of appearance bears within it traces of the eternal. If the two are opposed, it will be difficult to regard them even in the relation of the real and the apparent. What is based on the real, and is not the real itself, can only be called the appearance or phenomenon of the real. \* \* \* Avidyā is not so much imagination as failure to discriminate (aviveka) between reality and appearance. The real accepts the phenomenal. Appearances belong to reality. This is the truth suggested by the hypothesis of *ananyatva* or non-difference, advocated by the Advaita. Whenever he denies reality of effects, he qualifies his denial by some such phrase as 'different from Brahman' or 'different from cause.' Nowhere does he say that our life is literally a dream and our knowledge as phantasm." (Pp. 147-152.)

Sankara has supposed the creative activity of Isvara to be *Lilā* or sport proceeding from his own nature without reference to any purpose. The true significance of *Lilā* has been thus brought out by our author:—

"The conception of *Lilā* conveys a number of suggestions. The act of creation is not motivated by any selfish interest. It is the spontaneous outflow of God's nature—*Svabhāva*, even as it is the nature of men to breathe in and out. God cannot help creating. Out of the fulness of his joy, god scatters abroad life and power. \* \* He creates out of the abundance of his joy and for the fulfilment of the demands of morality. By looking upon creation as the cosmic game in which the supreme indulges, Sankara brings out the purposiveness, rationality, ease and effortlessness with which the creation is sustained. The liberated are called upon to share the joy of Isvara. The life of Isvara throbs in all parts unifying and containing all." (P. 117.)

It is impossible in a short notice to give an adequate account of the various interesting discussions about the doctrines of the two great systems of philosophy which the learned author has collected and methodically treated

in this work in a conspicuously luminous way. The volume is of about 290 pages divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the study of Sankara and the survey of his philosophy has been done in an exhaustive and comprehensive fashion including as it does such important topics as—the nature of the Absolute (Brahman) and the question whether it can be confused with an indeterminate blank, Isvara or the Personal God and the question if the Saguna Brahman is the mere self-projection of the yearning spirit or a floating air-bubble, the Vedantic view of causality and the unsatisfactory nature of the concept, various interpretations of the doctrine of Mâyá, the mutual implication of the phenomenal self and the phenomenal world—a phenomenon is not a phantasm, consideration of some objections to Sankara's Ethics, the argument whether Vedantic Mukti is 'a sinking into death and not rising into a life,' etc. The second part, consisting of seventeen sections contains a critical review of Ramanuja's philosophy, the materials of which have been drawn from such authorities as the Jatindramata-dipiká, Tattwamuktákalápa, Srutaprakáshikā, Rahasyatraya-Sāra, Pancharātra-rahasya, etc., etc. In criticising these views, the author has approached the subjects and handled various questions with an impartially fair attitude of mind which reflects no small credit on his judicial power.

The author is already known among the Savants of the East and the West for his lucid and brilliant interpretations of Indian thought and he is appreciated more and more every day. He has, we understand, recently been asked to give the famous Hibbert Lectures, a most coveted position of honour. But we are sorry to find that his daily growing name and fame has created envy in some quarters in Bengal and there is a storm in a tea-pot. But his great works in Indian philosophy, possess as they do permanent value, will stand the wear and tear of time and survive all the "mistakes of ignorance and envy," and attain immortal life.

KOKILESVAR SASTRI

**An Arabic History of Gujrat**—The book is commonly known by this title, but the author has given it the name of *Zafar al Wālih bi muzaffar wa ālih*. The book under review is the third volume of the above history published by "The Indian Text Series" and edited by Sir E. Denison Ross,—Vols. I and II of which have already appeared. It begins with the reign of Tughlaq Sahah and ends with the state of Gujrat during the reign of Akbar and the ultimate overthrow of its dynasty by the great Mogal Emperor. It also contains a comprehensive and useful index and is printed at Leyden in a beautiful *naskh* character very nicely got-up.

The author, whose full name is 'Abdullah bin Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, al-Asafī, Ulugh Khānī,' was born in Mekka in A.D. 1540. He came to India and settled with his father in Ahmedabad in A.D. 1555; about four years later, in A.D. 1559, he entered in the service of Muhammad Ulugh Khān, a nobleman of Abyssinia. When Emperor Akbar entered Gujrat in A.D. 1573 the author's father was appointed by the Emperor administrator of *Wakfs* dedicated to Mekka and Medina, and the author was employed in the duty of carrying annually the money to its destination and distributing it amongst the *ulamas* and the deserving poor.

The manuscript from which this Muhammadan History of Gujrat has been printed was first discovered amongst the books in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Mr. (Hon. Sir) Denison Ross who was then the Principal in charge of that institution. The importance of this interesting manuscript lies in the fact that it is written in the handwriting of the author himself and that he was present in many of the scenes which took place during the reign of Akbar when he conquered Gujrat.

The book is divided into *two Daftars*, the first comprehends the early history of Gujrat under Muslim rule, and the second embraces the various Muhammadan Dynasties which ruled in India. It appears that the author has drawn materials for his second *Daftar* from works that were already extant and constantly refers to them in the course of his writing.

As regards the style of the book, which is not free from faults of grammar and idiom, I cannot express my opinion better than to quote the words of the editor himself, which run thus: "The most noticeable feature in the style of our author is the fact that when he is telling his own story in his own words and is not dependent on other sources, he exhibits a strange lack of co-ordination which



might almost be called muddle-headedness. He seems incapable of telling a plain narrative, whereas when he is translating from the Persian his style at once becomes clear and his meaning obvious. \* \* \* The first *Daftar*, which is mainly an original composition, is full of obscure passages and tangled narratives, whereas the second *Daftar*, in which he is usually following either Jūzājānī, Ziyāud Din Baranī or Abul Fazl, makes simple reading ; although even in this *Daftar* the moment he makes a digression on his own he at once becomes obscure and involved."

M. K. SHIRAZI

**Archaeological Survey of India.**—Annual report for 1925-26. Edited by J. F. Blakiston, Officiating Director General of Archæology in India. Published by the Government of India, pp. xv + 306 + plates I to LXIX.

Divided into nine sections, this volume gives us a comprehensive survey of Archæological work in India during the years 1925-26. The introduction gives us the details relating to the Government grant which was augmented by about 1,55,000 rupees. The next section describes the work of conservation in the different circles and is based on the reports of the different circle-superintendents. The chief items of interest in this connection are the operations at Nalanda and Mohen-jo-daro. Section 2 devoted to exploration is more interesting and gives us an account of new finds or of the possibility of future discoveries of great interest. In regard to these we may mention the finds at Ahar (Ahi-hara in Bulandshahar), those in the frontier circle and those at Mohen-jo-daro in the Western circle. At Ahar, a large sandstone inscription of the 9th or 10th century, written in Kuṭiḷa characters has been found and it is being edited by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni. Five interesting silver coins have been found and one of these is in imitation of that of the Sassanian Firoz. The work in connection of the Rokhani stupa of the Kusan period is also of some interest. In Beluchistan, the operations about the Nal area have yielded numerous remains of interest, including graves and skulls of men and infants, funerary vases, copper vessels, silver foils, beads of agate and lapis lazuli, all pointing to the existence of an ancient necropolis and a culture of the copper age. At one time, it was thought that these would connect Nal with Mohen-jo-daro or Harappa, but now the evidences at hand are too feeble to connect Nal with the Indus valley civilization. There were many more interesting finds at Mohen-jo-daro where, the operations were

carried on vigorously in different areas allotted to Mr. Vats, Mr. Dikshit and Mr. Hargreaves. In the site of the Buddhist tope and within the precincts of the Stupa court were discovered successive buildings of the Calcolithic or the Indus period, a name applied to what was once designated the Indo-Sumerian period (p. 75). The 'Bath' was another important discovery (pp. 76-78) while among the minor antiquities discovered worthy of mention were some phallus emblems (p. 79), an exquisitely modelled ram of faience, a composite creature, part bull, part ram and part elephant, a variety of earthenware vessels (Plate XXII), a skeleton with a metallic ornament of Zinc and the limestone head of an image (Plate XXVIII). Among the objects recovered by Mr. Hargreaves were an image (16½") broken in three fragments, a phallic emblem, a small headlike object of steatite with two monkeys carved on it, implements of chest-seals and sealings with animal figures, pictographs and a svastika seal. The excavations by Mr. Mackey were also rewarded with interesting finds (site C) including remains of the residential quarter of a city and minor antiquities including a silver vase which contained a fine necklace (Pl. XI, II) and a large number of weights.

Among the finds of Rai Bahadur Sahni are a number of seals, statuettes of a dancing girl and a horned male figure like that of Gilgamesh and a well-preserved building of 25 rooms (no. 20). Ivory phallic emblems and some polychrome pottery were also found. The excavations at Paharpur under Mr. R. D. Banerjee also yielded much interesting materials.

The sections devoted to the Indian Museum or on Sanskrit epigraphy contain much of interest. Of these, the information supplied by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda on the Jain remains at Rajgiri and the decipherment of inscriptions by Mr. Hirananda Sastri deserve special mention. In section V, we have an illuminating description of the work of Sir Aurel Stein, while among miscellaneous notes we have illuminating contributions by Mr. Hargreaves, R. D. Banerji, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda and a note on an inscription of Bhojadeva by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni. In section IX we have a record of the progress made in the Indian states which maintain Archæological departments of their own. In the appendices we have among other things, lists of new coins or inscriptions acquired by the museums and this is bound to be of interest. The volume is thus destined to be of interest to scholars and the Archæological Department as well as the author of the volume deserve our best congratulations.

N. C. B.

**Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India**—No. 36—the Dolmens of the Pulney Hills—By the Rev. A. Anglade, S.J., and L. V. Newton, S.J.—Published by the Government of India, 1928 ; pp. 13+7 ; plates and maps.

This interesting memoir throws a flood of light on some of the pre-historic remains of Southern India. The learned authors have drawn the attention of scholars to the six groups of dolmens at Tandikudi. It appears that at one time there were as many as forty-six chambers but owing to the process of time and the destructive hand of man only three are still standing with their covering slabs. The learned authors have also discussed the topographical distribution of the dolmens, their description, mode of construction and the purpose which they served in the pre-historic past.

The dolmens of the Pulney hills are found in groups, and isolated chambers are rare. The groups contain no fixed number of rooms, the latter varying from 2 to 14, but the most common number is from six to seven. Another feature of the dolmens is that they are enclosed within walls and these are again very regular, and are more than six feet in height. The chambers are made of six slabs and vary in size, having been built probably for human dwelling. In addition to these, there are small rectangular boxes. The question as to what purpose they served in the remote past—that is, whether they were dwelling houses or store rooms—has been discussed in detail by the authors who have produced evidence to show that the dolmens were hardly used as places of burial. There are however buried dolmens in the vicinity and these were places of dwelling. On these points we are to keep an open mind.

As the subject is of great interest to archaeologists and anthropologists, the authors deserve their best thanks, especially for their careful execution of the task undertaken.

N. C. B.

## Ourselfes

DR. SRIKUMAR BANERJEE

Mr. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis entitled "Studies in Romantic Poetry and Criticism" which has been highly spoken of by Dr. C. H. Herford, F.B.A., Litt.D., Dr. Oliver Elton, M.A., Hon. D.Litt., and Mr. H. R. James, M.A.

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DR. SAROJKUMAR DAS

We are glad to welcome in our midst Mr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., P.R.S., who has rejoined his duties as Post-Graduate Lecturer after having creditably taken the Ph.D. degree in European Philosophy of the University of London by offering a thesis on Bradley's Philosophy. Among his numerous activities while in London mention may be made of the address he delivered on "The Church Invisible" at the Ethical Church, Bayswater, in connection with the Sunday Morning Services, which was highly appreciated and which we published in our August number.

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### RECOGNITION OF INDIAN DIPLOMAS BY FRENCH UNIVERSITIES.

We are glad to announce that the French Government has recently revised the list of foreign diplomas, qualifications and

certificates accepted as equivalent to the French "baccalaureat" for the school year 1928-29, according to which any certificate, accompanied by an attestation of the "Universities Bureau of the British Empire," 50 Russel Square, London, to the effect that the candidate has passed the Intermediate Examination for the degree of B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., M.B., B.E., B.Com., B.Ag., or B.O.L. at an Indian University" will be accepted as a qualification for admission to a degree or other course at a French University.

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THE FEDERATION OF INDIAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE  
AND INDUSTRY.

We have received a copy of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting, held at Calcutta in December, 1928, of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, containing an opening Address by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Presidential Speech of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Second Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, list of office-bearers for 1929 including Auditors for the year, Appendices giving the names of 29 mercantile bodies from different parts of India affiliated to the Federation as its members and amended Rules and Regulations and Bye-laws, besides a large body of valuable and important Resolutions vitally affecting Indian trade, commerce and industry and representing the well-considered views of Indians who possess the necessary qualification to speak authoritatively on problems relating to such subjects as Indian Banking, Income Tax, Shipping, Oil Enquiry, Salt, Jute, Stores Purchase Rules, International Labour Conference and the Indian Delegation to it, Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations, the Indian National Committee, the Indian High Commissioner, and the Constitution of the Port Trusts.

This important Report, we feel confident, will furnish people interested in India's commercial and industrial welfare with really valuable information and be read with the care it so fully deserves.

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#### THE MOUAT MEDAL

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Mr. Sudhindranath Bhattacharyya, M.A., on the third year's term of his P. R. Studentship being adopted by the Syndicate.

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#### JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE'S RESEARCH PRIZE

The following subject has been selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1929 :—

“ Place of Women in Hindu Law (with particular reference to Dayabhaga) in relation to Property as compared with the place of Women in English Law.

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#### RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW, JANUARY, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 834, of whom 345 passed, 366 failed, and 123 were absent. Of the successful candidates 6 were placed in Class I and 339 in Class II.

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DATES FOR THE NEXT PRELIMINARY, INTERMEDIATE AND  
FINAL EXAMINATIONS IN LAW

The commencing dates for the next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law have been fixed as follows :—

Preliminary Examination in Law	2nd July, 1929 (Tuesday).
Intermediate Examination in Law	8th July, 1929 (Monday).
Final Examination in Law	15th July, 1929 (Monday).



**RADHA-KRISHNA**

(From an old painting)



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1929

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## JAINISM, ITS HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE AND ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

Whilst Hinduism and Buddhism have been exhaustively studied in the Occident, Jainism has so far not received the same attention, which it deserves. That is very much to be regretted, for Jainism has not only played a great part in the history, the literature, and the art of the land of the Ganges, but its profound metaphysics and its highly spiritual ethics deserve and demand the interest of every student of religious thought, I may say of every thoughtful man, in the highest degree.

The astonishing ignorance in many quarters regarding the grand religious system of Mahāvira can only be explained by the scarcity of scholars, who have devoted their attention to Jainism in Europe. The more obvious manifestations of Indian cultural history, as the Veda, the epics of the Brahmins, Buddhism in its various forms formerly and later on, caught the eye of the student of India much more than the subject of Jainism, which was forced into the background by the political and cultural conditions of India.

Nevertheless the attention paid to the Jaina belief in Europe dates back to the times of the Greeks and has been cultivated since the inauguration of Indian studies, by a number of

scholars, at first small but increasing steadily. I am confident that in our time the interest will deepen, especially as the Jainas themselves have facilitated to the Europeans, by edition of texts and, still more important, by translations and essays, the knowledge of what great and spiritual work has hitherto unfortunately been hidden in the unknown Jaina works.

If we wish to obtain a correct idea of the present state of Jaina studies in Europe; it will be best to get a clear view of their development. It appears that the first Europeans who came into connection with the Jainas were the Greeks, who came into India in the time of Alexander the Great and his generals who divided his territories after his death. From those times no news have been handed down to us, and the conception of some scholars that under the "Gymnosophists," the "naked sages" of the Greek historians, Jaina monks of the unclothed Digambara sect are to be understood, is doubtful. Already Christian Lassen remarks on this: "What the classical writers in their reports state of the Gymnosophists cannot be taken into consideration here, because their name denotes the Brahmanic ascetics and philosophers, who are called so not on account of the absolute want of clothing, but on account of their very scant garments. If this is detracted, there remains only the notes of Hesychios who lived before the end of the 5th century and who speaks apparently of the Jains as Gymnosophists."

Also writings of the few European travellers, who visited the countries on the East during the Middle Ages give us no further news of the Jainas. Even the travellers of the Western Colonial powers who, after the discovery of the sea-way to East India by Vasco da Gama came there, throw very little light on the subject, although they mention some characteristic traits of the Jainas as their far-reaching protection for all living beings and the existence of hospitals for animals which apparently struck them. More thoroughgoing researches were first made by the officers and officials of the East India Company.

The first, but exhaustive, account of their system, which was founded on Indian original works, was given by H. T. Colebrooke (1768-1832), who has been a pioneer in so many branches of Indian studies. Colebrooke's data were supplemented and furthered by Horace Hayman Wilson (1784-1860).

The writings of these two excellent scholars were for a long time the only reliable sources, from which during the first half of the nineteenth century a sound knowledge of Jainism could be gained. The merit of having translated the first Jaina texts belongs to Otto Böhtlingk, past-master on German-Sanskrit lexicography, who translated Hemchandra's "Abhidhānachintāmani" into German (in collaboration with Ch. Rieu) and to Rev. J. Stevenson, who turned the "Kalpa-sutra" and "Nava-tattva" into English. In 1858 these were followed by the Berlin Professor of Sanskrit, Albrecht Weber, who published excerpts from the "Shatrunjayamāhātmya" four of which were followed by excerpts from the Bhavagati. The same scholar deeply studied the canon of the Shvetāmbaras and showed the way to their students by his many essays and investigations in many branches of Jaina studies. Later on some guided by him, especially H. Jacobi, E. Leumann, J. Klatt, G. Rühler, and E. Windisch, followed in this work and studied Jaina texts of various sorts, whilst L. Rice, E. Hultzsch, F. Kielhorn, P. Peterson, J. Fergusson, and J. Burgess, occupied themselves with the study of manuscripts, inscriptions, and objects of art of the Jainas.

From the very beginning the European scholars have not contented themselves with the collection of materials and of using them for their purposes but have endeavoured to fix the historical position of Jainism. The first hypotheses, which were put up in this respect, were very fantastic. For instance, it was tried to bring the name of Jaina in connection with the fratricide, Kain, with the Roman God Janus, or with the Egyptian magician Jannes well known from Jewish tradition (II Timoth. 3, 8 ; Exodus 7, 11) ; the town

of Pālitānā, rich in Jaina temples, was to be related to Palestine, and so on. More within the limit of probability were those scholars, who tried to prove a connection between Jainism and Buddhism. The opinions in this point were most varied. Whilst some (like Colebrooke) were convinced that Buddhism had sprang from Jainism, most others, like Wilson, Lassen, A. Weber opined that the Jainas were Buddhistic schismatics. The last hypothesis, which was based on unimportant superficialities and the accidental coincidence of proper names was proved to be absolutely wrong by H. Jacobi in 1879. Jacobi has shown convincingly that the Jainas and Bauddhas were two absolutely separate religious sects and that their prophets Mahāvira and Gautama Buddha were two distinct persons, who lived at the same time.

In spite of the expansion which the knowledge of the history and literature of the Jainas has experienced through the work of a number of scholars, the inner core of Jainism, its doctrine, still remained closed for the Occident for a long time. This apparently strange state can be explained firstly by the fact that with most scholars their antiquarian and philological interests predominated largely over the philosophical and cultural interests, and secondly because the first Jaina students wanted to draw their knowledge partly from antagonistic Brahmanical writings, partly from canonical Jaina-works. Considering the incorrectness of the former and the difficulties of the latter, this undertaking was doomed to failure. It was therefore an epoch-making event when Jacobi in 1896 gave to the West the systematic dogmatics of a later time by translating Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra*. By this work a general and complete view of the whole of the Jaina doctrine was obtained and thus made room for an understanding of important points which had remained obscure hitherto. Jacobi's work has been augmented by his pupils in many various directions. In Germany the foremost Jaina-scholars are at present the pupils of Jacobi ; W. Kirfel, whose attention is given to

cosmography, Leumann's pupil Schubring, who devotes his time to the study of the Shvetāmbara canon, and the historian of Indian fairy tales, Joh. Hertel, and his disciple Charlotte Krause.

One thing will be, in my opinion, of the greatest importance for the future of Jaina studies in Europe, *viz.*, the co-operation of European and Indian science. It is to be hoped that the future will bring a mutual going hand in hand among Western and Indian scholars. The Indian pundits will become acquainted with European methods as regards the edition of texts and will thus be educated to work critically and objectively and our scholars can learn a great deal by this connection with orientals by the association with Jainas to whom tradition is still a living power, not only historically interesting book-learning. They will thus be safeguarded against losing the contact with reality and against the degeneration of their studies into aimless speculations and arid pedantry. When the working together of East and West has brought about that the Jainism of to-day has been fully conceived and exhibited in all its ramifications, then it will be time to proceed from the known to the unknown and to trace the phases of the process by which the present was evolved from the past and to give the past in its remotest origin renewed life in our mind's eye.

It appears to me of high importance for religious history that the relationship of Jainism to the religions of the world is made clear and that especially the influence of Jainism on other forms of belief are ascertained. It seems to be very probable that Jainism exercised great influence on Hinduism in many respects, if one considers what a great part it played in former times in various territories of India, especially in Northern India and on the Western coast and in the Dravidian South. It is credible that Jaina ideas in the Upanishads and the epics can be proved, but the investigations in this respect are only beginning as yet, so that at

present nothing definite can be brought forward ; one thing, however, is certain—the influence of Jainism on Hindu sects. The great expansion, which the principle of the “Ahinsâ” in its opposition to bloody sacrifices and in the upholding of vegetarianism won, especially in Vaishnavism, is certainly for a great part due to Jainism as well as to Buddhism. The influence of Jainism is apparent in Vishnuism also in other respects. The “Jina” is regarded as an Avatâra of Vishnu. In the Padma-Tantra 1, 1,44 etc., it is taught that Vishnu has proclaimed the Arhata-Shâstra as Rishabha. In the Bhâgavata-Purana V, 3, etc., and XI, 2 and in other holy works of the Vaishnavas, Rishabha is called an incarnation of Vishnu. What is narrated of the life of Rishabha only partly agrees with the Jaina-legends, but the fact that Rishabha plays such a great part in a Vishnuitic work is in itself remarkable. Of the philosophical systems of the Vaishnavas the Brahma-sampradaya of Madhva (1199-1278 a.c.) above all shows unmistakable traces of Jaina influence, a circumstance which is easily accounted for, if one considers that Madhva lived in South-Kanara, in a territory in which the Jaina belief had been the dominant religion for many centuries. As I have shown in my “Madhva’s Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens,” pp. 27 and 31, it is not improbable that Madhva’s doctrine of predestination, of the order of ranks of the gods and so on were evolved in connection with the teaching of the Jainas.

Jainism has also exercised influence on Shaiva systems. G. U. Pope conjectures that the doctrine of the Shaiva-Siddhanta of the three fetters (Pâsha) or impurities (Mala), which alienate the soul from its real nature correspond to Jaina conceptions. If what this scholar brings forward to support his theory cannot be accepted because of his imperfect knowledge of Jainism, the possibility of a connection of the doctrine of the Anava, Karma, and Mâyâmala with the Karma doctrine of the Jainas cannot be totally rejected. The problem must be further investigated. The existence of Jaina influence on the doctrine and the cult of the

Lingāyats is also probable, but certainly can only be assured, when this sect has been subjected to scientific research. The same may perhaps be said of the Alakhgīrs in Rājputānā, of whose founder, Lāl Gīr, Sir George Grierson says that his doctrine has much in common with that of the Jainas.

Since the time when Jainism became known in Europe the question has interested all scholars who took up its study whether there is a historical connection between it and Buddhism. The Jainas themselves believe that Buddhism was founded by an apostate monk. According to one version the ascetic Buddhakīrti from the school of Pārshva, when he was performing his ascetic exercises on the brink of the river Sarayu saw a dead fish floating near him. After some consideration he came to the conclusion that it could not be a sin to eat it, as it had no soul, and ate it. This action is said to have been a cause of a schism, from whence Buddhism took its origin. According to another version another pupil of Pārshva, Maudgalyayana, is said to have founded Buddhism out of hatred against Mahāvīra by proclaiming the son of Shuddhodana, Buddha, as God. The idea that Buddhism originated in Jainism has formerly been upheld by several European scholars (Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, Ed. Thomas). They chiefly supported their theory by maintaining that a disciple of Mahāvīra was named Gautama and that they identified him with Gautama Buddha erroneously.

The Buddhists again held the Jainas to be heretics and accused them of having stolen the chief tenets of faith of their doctrine from the works of Buddha. Many European scholars of the last century also believed that the Jainas were a Buddhist sect. Whilst, however, the older Indologists like H. H. Wilson and Th. Benfey assumed that the Jainas separated from Buddhism at a time when it was in a state of degeneration, others like Chr. Lassen dated their origin from the 1st to 2nd century A. C., or A. Weber placed it already in the first centuries of Buddhism. The shakiness of all hypotheses, which

seek to deduce one religion from the other, has been definitely proved by H. Jacobi, who has shown convincingly that the identities in both forms of faith cannot for a moment be taken as an indication that the two have one and the same origin.

That Jainism and Buddhism resemble each other in many respects is a fact, which becomes obvious when one considers that Brahmanic writers often confound the two. In many points there is an absolute identity between the two. Both deny the authority of the Vedas and oppose the Brahmanic predominance of the priests and the Brahmanic sacrifices. Both deny the existence of a supreme personal god and surround a number of faith-founders, who appear at given times, with a large amount of ritual honours, of which the outward forms are similar to a great extent (images, stupas, chaityas). Both denote their prophets by the same names (Arhat, Buddha, Jina), attribute to them the same signs of beauty and confer upon them the same designations and symbols, a fact which also attracted the interest of Hiuen Tsiang. Both acknowledge a number of Chakravartis (world-rulers) and give to them the same attributes. Both doctrines also uphold the principle of the Ahimsâ and propound partly the same ethical laws ; with both the monks and the nuns are the backbone of the community. The similarity is still further pronounced by the fact that their prophets, Mahāvîra and Buddha, were contemporaries and lived in the same territory Bihâr, that in the history of these two men the same places and persons occur, and that some persons, who knew the two religious founders personally, accidentally bore the same name, because these names were the fashion among the Kshatriyas of Magadha (Mahāvîra's father was called Siddhârtha, which was Buddha's name when he was a prince ; Mahāvîra's wife was called Yashodâ, Buddha's consort Yashodarâ, and so on).

All these similarities in various points of the two doctrines, in social organisation and in many superficialities occasioned by place and time cannot disprove the elementary differences of all



important points in the essentialities. Jainism and Buddhism not only possess different holy scriptures, a different history and tradition, but they are based on totally different philosophical ideas. Like the systems of the Brahmanic philosophy, Jainism teaches the existence of eternal, immortal souls, which as long as they are connected with matter, roam about in the Sansāra. The chief doctrine of Buddhism on the other hand is that there is no self, that there is no soul. That which is called 'Self, I, or Soul is, according to it, no constant entity but a "Santāna" of momentary "Dharmas," a chain of various elements of existence, which only exist for a moment and then disappear and are replaced by facsimiles of themselves. This doctrine of the non-existence of a Self, which the Buddhists regarded as the chief characteristic of their religion, is of course in irreconcilable opposition to the Jaina idea of the soul-monads. From this obvious point of difference further great discrepancies result in the fundamental ideas of the systems as in the foundation of knowledge, in the ethics, in the doctrine of Karma, and above all in the doctrine of salvation. For the Jainas the Nirvāna can be attained only when the soul by spiritual discipline has cast off all material particles which soiled it and its true spiritual nature has prevailed. Then the soul rises to the summit of the world and remains there as a purely spiritual, blessed being, gifted with all supernatural faculties. The Buddhists, on the contrary, think a salvation only possible, if the sorrowful, transitory, incorporeal character of the Self has been conceived, the five groups of the psycho-physical existence (skandha), which after the death of a being unite by the power of the Karma into an apparently new individual, do not enter a new union, and if the dharmas attain to a state of rest.

Of all other differences in important points of the doctrine only one shall be named here: the judgment of sin. Jainism regards the objective actuality as decisive, acknowledges therefore also unconsciously committed sins, whilst Buddhism assumes a criminal will of the sinner for every sinful deed.

The difference in their social organisations has played a significant part in the fate of both religions. With the Buddhists the "Sangha," the community, only embraced two classes of persons : monks and nuns, the laity stood outside of it; they had no influence on its guidance, though the monks and nuns depended on them for their livelihood, and were only loosely connected with them regarding their religious and ritual life. The Jaiinas, however, denote the "Sangha" as quadruple, as beside the monks and the nuns lay-men and lay-women are also counted. As an integrant part of the "Sangha" the Jaina laity had a good deal to say and had far-reaching rights, *e.g.*, the control of the conducts of the ascetics. The relation of the clergy and the laity has become of great importance for the development and future of both religions. Buddhism suffered on account of the looseness of connection between the "Sangha" and the laity. When the Buddhistic monkdom degenerated, when it found itself unable to resist the orthodox counter-reformation of the Brahmans and succumbed before the cruel onslaught of fanatic Moslems, then it and Buddhism disappeared from the Indian continent, and the laity became Hindus; because no deeper interest existed between it and its former Buddhistic clergy. Jainism, on the contrary, has retained its position thanks to its organisation up to the present time on the Ganges-peninsula. Of course, it has also suffered much under the changes of time, but its monkdom did not degenerate so much as that of the Buddhists and its faith has retained its strength in its old homes notwithstanding the persecutions of the Mahomedans up to the present date.

Though Jainism and Buddhism are, as we have shown, two independent kinds of religion, they have existed so long and in so many countries-side by side, that it must be regarded as obvious that they must have influenced each other. Notwithstanding their peculiarities and mutual enmity, one religion may have adopted from the other many outward superficialities, especially as regards iconographic and social affairs. So far

unfortunately we are still without reliable investigations on these interchanges. Such investigations present great difficulties as in many cases it cannot be ascertained which faith has borrowed from the other or whether both anti-Vedic religions have drawn from the common sources of Hinduism. In some cases, however, positive proof can be brought which was the giving and which the receiving part. For instance it is quite clear that, as H. Jacobi has shown, the Buddhist idea of Asravas, the "influx" of the outer world, which deteriorates thinking, must have originated in the Jaina idea of Asrava, as only according to Jaina philosophy an actual "influx," viz., of Karma-matter into the soul, can take place. On the other hand, it needs no proof that in Haribhadra's "Yogabindu" (271, 4) Buddhist influences are at work, considering that the Tirthankaras are denoted as Bodhisattvas.

With the adherents of foreign religions, who came to India and retaining their old creed made room for it there, the Jainas always have been in connection in consequence of their commercial pursuits, but the spiritual exchange of thoughts seems to have confined itself mostly to language and culture and to have left matters of creed alone. Albrecht Weber tried to establish resemblances between Greek myths and Indian myths, especially of the Jainas, and conjectured that the resemblances were secondary, belonged to *historical* times and were transfusions of Homeric or Occidental myths, i.e., that they were simply adopted and taken over. What this scholar, however, brings forth in his treatise "Ahlya-Achileus" and elsewhere to support his theory cannot be regarded as convincing.

That Pârsism has influenced Jainism is probable. One might for instance assume the doctrine, according to which in Teja-Samudghâta a figure springs from the shoulder of an ascetic, might be taken from the Persian myth of Sohak. Of the influence of Jainism on Pârsism nothing is known at present, although a Parsee regarded it as probable in a conversation with me.

It is an interesting question to ascertain whether Jainism has influenced Manichæism. W. Bang has compared the three Guptis (*i.e.*, the proper government of the action of the body, of speech and thought) with the three Manichæic "seals" (signacula) of hand, mouth, and thought, and pointed further at the similarity, that to Jainas as well as to Manichæans the south is the abode of darkness. Both points, however, would only prove, if they prove anything, not Jaina but general Indian influence, as in both cases these are general Indian conceptions. More remarkable is the resemblance to which O. G. Von Wesendonk calls our attention regarding the distinction between "electi" and "auditores" (hearer), but whether Mani's teaching was really influenced by Jainism can only be said when more similarities of such kind are assured.

Mahometanism, which lived in close touch with Jainism for centuries, has had a great cultural influence on the latter. Many Persian-Arabian words have invaded the language of the Jainas, as of all Indians, especially in the North and the West.

In one respect Mahometanism seems to have influenced Jainism to some degree: perhaps the reprisal of the movement against images of Lonkâ Shâ has been indirectly caused by it, as it has also caused the founding of sects in Vishnuism, which opposed the cult of images. On the other hand Jainism has probably influenced the Indian Mahometans, especially those who have been converted from Indian religions to that of the Prophet but had retained many Indian customs and ideas, that have become current there. Above all, however, the art of the Jainas, especially architecture and painting, have been largely influenced by Mahometan prototypes, not always for the advantage unfortunately. Jaina architecture has also influenced that of the Mahometans on its part, but often not in the way of an organic adaptation but of an actual taking possession. Parts of the destroyed Jaina temples were used for the building of mosques or Jaina holy buildings were transformed by architectural changes into Mahometan places of worship.

An investigation of these historically interesting relations would be a grateful task for a student of Mahometanism.

Possibly the influence of Jainism on Mahometanism went further. Baron Kremer has told us in an exhaustive essay on the Arabian poet and philosopher, Abu-l-'Alâ (973-1056), generally called after his native town of Ma'arrat an Numân Abu-l-'Alâ al Ma'arrî. He has evolved his peculiar ethical teaching perhaps under Jaina influence. The strange, quite un-Mahometan way of life of this man is described by Kremer as follows: "Abu-l-'Alâ only lived on a vegetable diet and he also refused milk, because he regarded it as sinful to take away their mother's milk from young animals; he would have gone without nourishment altogether, if he could have done it; even honey he would not eat because he thought it wrong to rob the bees of their honey, which they had collected so busily and industriously. For the same reason he avoided eggs. In food and clothing he lived as true world-despiser. "My garments are of (undyed) wool, neither green nor yellow, nor reddish brown." Only wooden shoes he wears, for those made of leather are acquired by bad practices, because it is a sin to kill animals to use their skins. In another place he recommends total nakedness when he says: "Summer gives you a complete garment." How strictly he followed the law of the ahimsâ is made clear by his saying: "It is better to let a flea live than to give a beggar a dirhem."

This predilection for nakedness, the forbearance towards vermin, the vegetarianism, above all the warning against the eating of honey, show the influence of Jainism, especially of the Digambaras. That a great commercial centre like Bagdad, where Abu-l-'Alâ spent most of his life, was visited by Jaina merchants is easily credible, and that the poet came into touch with them. It is seen from his writings that Abu-l-'Alâ had knowledge of many Indian customs. He mentions the habit of Indian ascetics not to cut their nails. He commends the custom of burning the dead, when he says: "Behold, how the Indian

burn their dead ; that is better than long torments. If I am burned, then one needs not trouble about the hyenas, that crawl at night towards the corpse, and is safe from maltreatment and desecration. Fire is better than camphor, with which we bestrew the dead and better takes away the evil smells. Abu-l-'Alâ admired the Indian ascetics, who flung themselves into burning funeral piles. This way of attaining death is regarded by the Jainas as a "usual silly sort of asceticism" committed by heretics, whilst the intentional death by hunger is praised. The saying of Abu-l-'Alâ's that he would like to forego all nourishment, if he could, lets us suppose that he had knowledge also of the "Samlekhaṇa," but was too weak to follow it. According to all I have said it is possible that Abu-l-'Alâ has been in touch with Jainas and has partly adopted their ethical ideas. His metaphysical conceptions, however, on which his poems are based, show that he cannot have had closer relations with Jainism, which is shown by his not-believing in the transmigration of souls.

Traces of the influence of Jainism on Jewish and Christian beliefs have not been discovered. Some similarities as the occurrence of parallels like the story of Solomon's judgment or the parable of the three merchants prove nothing, just as little as the tradition that Mahâvira and Jesus each had 12 disciples, of which one was a traitor (Gosâla, Judas).

Although the Jainas must have come in touch with Christians long before the discovery of the sea-route to East India—it is known that there were Christian communities centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese, especially in the south of the peninsula—an influence of Christianity on Jainism can only be proved during the last decades. Of late the Jainas have also used the Bible for their own purposes. Starting from the thesis "the creed of the Tirthankaras furnishes the only platform where all other creeds may meet and be reconciled to one another," Champat B. Jain finds veiled allusions to the 24 Tirthankaras in the 4th chapter of the Revelation of St. John, and so on.

The necessarily short remarks, which I could make here on the importance of the study of Jainism, will have told you what the pursuit of Jaina studies could bring and how abundant their harvest might be, not only for students of India but also for the history of humanity. To bring light into the importance of Jainism will be the endeavour of all European scholars who have taken up this most interesting study. Above all it is the sacred duty of all Jainas to help them as much as they can, so that the venerable doctrine of the Tirthankaras may become better and better known in all its profundity and beauty in India as well as beyond its borders. Therefore I appeal to you to do all you can to make sure that the precious inheritance of your ancestors is not forgotten, look to it that Jaina literature is published in good texts and in good translations and that it becomes generally known to all those who can grasp the sublimity of a doctrine which, though it has existed for centuries, has still retained its undiminished beauty and is still a great living power in the world of thought.

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

## PLATO AND PLOTINUS ON GOD

No philosophical account about God can be complete without reference to Plato and Aristotle. They have, in a sense, built up the present European civilization. So I begin with Plato. According to Plato, the things of sense are in an eternal flux. Sense-perception does not reveal the true reality of things, but gives us mere appearance. In order to have scientific knowledge, we must rise beyond the fleeting to something stable, beyond sense-perception to the idea, from the particular to the universal. Sense-knowledge presents to us the passing, changing, particular, and accidental; but ideal or conceptual knowledge reveals the universal, changeless, and essential element in all things and is, therefore, genuine knowledge. Philosophy has for its scope knowledge of the universal, unchangeable and eternal. Thus, according to Plato, all reality lies in the world of ideas or concepts.

Now, what does Plato understand by the word idea? Plato speaks of the ideas of the just, the beautiful, and the good. He admits the existence of ideas corresponding to such physical things as fire, water, earth and tree. He even notices the existence of idea in what is only a contradiction to an idea, as in the case of depravity and vice. No sphere of being is supposed to be without ideas, not even what is the most irrational and contingent. In short, there is always an idea whenever a many is designated by a common name (Rep. X. 596). Or, as Aristotle has it, Plato assumed for every class of existence an idea (Met. XII. 3).

Plato warns us that these ideas do not originate in experience, we do not get these ideas from particular cases by induction, but these particular cases are merely the means of bringing to consciousness what is implicitly contained in the soul. In the world of sense, no particular object is absolutely true,



beautiful, or good, but we approach the sense-world with ideals, or standards of the true, the beautiful, and the good. The same is true of mathematical and other ideas. These ideas or universal principles constitute the starting-point of all knowledge.

The idea or notion to have any value as knowledge, must not be mere passing thoughts in man's head, but must have something real corresponding to it. In other words, the idea must correspond to reality. The ideas which hold together the essential qualities common to many particulars are apt to be considered as mere mental processes: particulars alone exist, but there is no correspondence between idea and reality outside of the mind. "I see a horse, but horseness, I do not see," as Antithesis is reported to have observed. But, according to Plato, these ideas or forms are not passing thoughts in the minds of men or even in the Divine mind; he conceives them as real or substantial forms existing in and for themselves: 'original, eternal, transcendent archetypes of things, existing prior to things and apart from them, independent of them, uninfluenced by the changes to which they are subject.' The particulars are imperfect copies of these eternal patterns; particular objects may come and go, but the idea exists for ever.

These ideas, though numberless, constitute a graduated series, in which the lower term presents itself as basis and presupposition of the next higher. This series must end in an idea which requires for its support no higher idea or presupposition. This highest idea, the ultimate in cognition, the presupposition of the rest, itself without presupposition, constitutes, for Plato, the idea of the Good. (Rep. VII. 517.) The idea of the Good excludes all pre-supposition, possesses unconditional worth, and gives worth to all else. It is the ultimate ground at once of knowledge and being, of thought and what is thought, of subjective and objective, of ideal and real, but it is itself raised above them (Rep. VI. 508-517). Thus the ideal universe conceived by Plato, is an interrelated, organic, rational whole, the ideas being arranged in logical order, and

subsumed under the idea of the Good which is the cause of all the rest. This idea is supreme, and there is nothing beyond it. To Plato, the truly real, the truly beautiful, and the truly good are identical.

‘There is an absolute beauty and goodness, an absolute essence of all things.....For there is nothing which, to my mind, so patent as that beauty, goodness .....have a most real and absolute existence’ (Phædo, 77). Again, we find in the same work—Phædo : ‘Any beautiful thing is only made beautiful by the presence or communication, or whatever you please to call it, of absolute Beauty. I do not wish to insist on the nature of the communication (on how the communication or participation is effected), but what I am sure of is that it is Beauty through which all beautiful things are beautiful.’

It is clear to us that the idea of the Good in which all the ideas have their being and essence, is God, according to Plato.

“In the world of knowledge the idea of Good appears last of all and is seen only with an effort; and when seen is also referred to the universal author of all things beautiful and right, parent of light and the lord of light in this visible world, and the immediate source of reason and truth in the intellectual. (Rep. VII, 517 a.)

The human soul has two parts—bodily part and rational part. The body and the senses are not the true part of the soul, but the rational part is the true part, the immortal side of the soul. The individual soul enters a body, which fits him for existence in the sensible world. As all knowledge is reminiscence, all learning a reawakening, the soul must have existed before its union with a body. The body is the prison-house of the soul, is a hindrance to the contemplation of the ideas, pure and eternal. The rational part of the soul endures alone, has absolute worth. The deliverance of the soul from the body and the contemplation of the eternal ideas, pure and beautiful, is the ultimate goal of life. “Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth as quickly as we can, and to fly away as to become like God.”

"But what," says Diotima of Mantinea to Socrates in the Symposium, "what if man had eyes to see the true beauty—the divine beauty, I mean,—pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colours and vanities of human life, thither looking, and holding converse with the true beauty, simple and divine?"

Plato, like the Vedantists, starts with the single idea of the Good or Brahman, and passes on to the world of ideas consisting of mind and matter, but he has attempted nowhere to show how the various other ideas are actually derived from the single idea of the Good. To Plato, it appears to us, the idea of the Good is stable, self-subsistent being, the opposite of motion and becoming, like the pure intelligence of Samkara of the Advaita Vedanta. But Samkara explains motion through the help of "*maya*" which is characterised neither as being nor as non-being, but Plato gives no reason why his first principle moves. The Vedanta as interpreted by Ramanuja conceives this first principle as actuality and so there can be no difficulty in his scheme with regard to motion and becoming. Plato, like the Vedantists, conceives the union of the soul with the body as a hindrance to true knowledge, and the ultimate end of life is not to become God as Samkara puts it, but to become like God, as Ramanuja has it; and being of the same nature, our soul cleaves thereunto, in eternal blessedness for ever.

• Next, we take up the system of Plotinus.

In Plotinus God is conceived as the source of all being, of all opposition and difference, of mind and matter, but is himself devoid of all plurality and diversity. He is absolutely one containing everything, infinite, the first causeless cause, from which everything emanates. He is transcendent, whatever we say of him only limits him. We can not attribute to him beauty, goodness, thought, or will, for such attributes are viewed as his imperfections. We cannot conceive him as a thinker or a self-conscious being, for that would divide him into subject and object. We cannot say what he is, but only what he is not.

‘ In him there is no past, no future, but only an eternal present, and no more any dividedness of space than any changeableness of time ; he is the true eternity which time but copies.’ This world is an emanation, a necessary overflow of his infinite power. He compares God to an infinite spring from which the stream flows without exhausting its source ; or, to the sun from which the light emanates without causing any loss to the sun. The universe depends on him, but he does not depend on the universe.

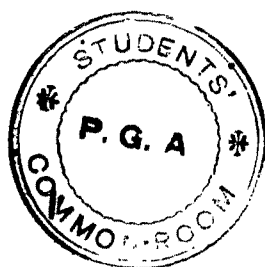
There are three stages in the process of emanation,—pure thought, soul, and matter. In the first stage, thought and ideas, subject and object are not separate in space or time : they are in the divine mind one and the same. God contemplates the pure ideal cosmos, he thinks his thoughts which flow his very nature. His thought is not discursive, but intuitive contemplating the system of ideas as a whole and all at once. The world-soul is the second stage in the divine emanation. Pure thought seeks to realise itself in the shape of the world-soul, and produces something which is supersensuous, intelligible, and active, but beyond the need of perception and memory. The world-soul cannot exercise its powers, without something to act on and thus produces matter. Matter has neither form nor quality, it is mere impotence and privation. It is assumed as the necessary substrate behind the passing world of sense. The particular powers of souls contained in the world-soul impress themselves upon matter and produce particular sensible objects in space and time, comprehended in the indivisible world-soul. The soul of man is a part of the world-soul, and as such supersensuous and free. The true self consists of thought, and can reach its goal by turning from the sensuous life to thought and through it, to God. To reach its mission, the soul must free itself from sensuality and must lead a pure life. But a still higher stage can be reached by the contemplation of the ideas pure and eternal, which brings us nearer to the vision of God. But the highest stage, union with God takes place only ‘ in a

state of ecstasy, in which the soul transcends its own thought, loses itself in the soul of God, becomes one with God.'

Thus in the conception of Plotinus, God is the source and goal of everything: from him everything emanates, to him everything returns. It is pantheistic in conceiving everything, down to the lowest matter, as an emanation of God. Ecstatic union with God, disappearance in God, is the real object of all our strivings.

We learn from the account of Porphyry—the pupil and biographer of Plotinus that Plotinus attained complete union with the Good or God on four occasions in this life. Huseyn ibn Mansur, called Hallaj "the wool-carder" was put to death on a charge of blasphemy on March 15th, 923, A.D. because he cried out in a state of mystic ecstasy, 'I am the Truth.' We read in the Brhataranyaka Upanishad that Rsi Bamadeva in a mood of mystic experience cried out 'I am Manu, I am Surya.' The question is, are these cases, cases of absolute identity? To my mind, they are not. The fact that the seer can narrate his experience shows that they are not cases of absolute identity. The religious teachers of the world refer to their oneness with God because in that state of ecstasy they see nothing but God, they hear nothing but God, they know nothing but God. The drop is merged in the ocean; the pilgrim has reached the Shrine; the lover is united to the Beloved. But, has he ceased to exist? No, he is one with Being, he is joined unto God as one spirit. This is Plotinus's doctrine of absorption or annihilation in God.' Referring to that state the great Samkara of India declared 'That art thou'.

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA



## IX

## COSTS OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

We might state these in the order of magnitude, a usual practice in framing estimates, but it seems better in this case to begin with the essential things, and conclude with those which, however desirable might be omitted without frustrating the whole scheme.

There are two essential things without either of which the school could not exist. One is the *Guru* and the other is the *Chela*; the former able and willing to teach, and the other able and willing to learn. Given only these, very great things can be done as every one who has any knowledge of Indian history and Indian traditions, must admit. Failing either of them it becomes a matter of indifference whether the school is a vast structure of marble and iron costing many crores or simply a shady mango tree. The maintenance of students and teachers is the first charge. It should be inscribed over the door of every institution of learning "Gold is no key, poverty is no bar." Admission to a school or college should invariably carry with it a scholarship sufficient to cover all books and fees and provide in addition as much of an income as the youth admitted could earn, if he stayed away, but not more. No one is to be tempted in by the prospect of more than he could get outside. None should be kept out because a poor or selfish parent could make more of him by keeping him out.

We say invariably, because it is bad statesmanship to have two independent authorities doing or attempting to do the same thing and only vaguely aware of each other's activities. A well-to-do parent could no doubt afford to pay his son's fees and expenses. The adjustment of income tax in accordance with the ability to pay is, however, the business of the income tax

office. The Education Department should not interfere. It has not the organization to check the parents' statement of his financial condition. Its pre-occupations, and the limits of its information being, what they are, the usual result of its attempts to select certain individuals only, for free tuition is the selection of the wrong person in at least 50 per cent of the cases it considers. The education authority should refuse absolutely to add to its duties the inquisition into the private affairs of its students. It is for one thing a dirty job, and for another beyond its powers to execute satisfactorily.

A school can usually compete with employers on level terms for artisan students, by offering wages of two, three, five, seven and ten rupees per month in the first, second, third, fourth and fifth years respectively of a five years' course—or rather it could, were it not for the fact that its own teaching adds to the students' value towards the end of the course. A motor mechanic, for instance can usually get about Rs. 40 at the end of his fourth year provided he can drive, which of course he ought to be able to do in his sleep by that time. Accordingly, in order to prevent him being tempted away before his training is complete it is usual to add about 50% to the wage in the last three years, but reserve payment to the end of the course. This is a good plan, that could hardly be bettered. If it is adopted the wages become two, three, seven and a half, ten and a half and fifteen rupees instead of two, three, five, seven and ten. It is not even yet a living wage, but the basis is not the living wage, but the market price of the students' labour. As this varies from place to place, and from time to time with a tendency, which we all hope may strengthen to increase as time goes on, it should be noted that no matter what may or does happen in that way the criterion should always be the local market price of labour. To make the stipend more than that is to swamp the institution with students who have no real interest in the work ; and to make it less is to bar out those who would and could profit, but cannot afford the loss.

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The most important part of an artisan's training if he is to be only an artisan, which is the usual case, is the manipulation of tools and machines. Something like one good *mistri* instructor at a wage of Rs. 60 a month is required for each ten students. This is an average. The wage again depends on market price of labour. For some trades and in some localities it may be as much as Rs. 100 per month, and for others as little as Rs. 30. As every artisan school should cover a wide range of trades, we may safely assume an average of Rs. 60.

All artisans do not receive theoretical instruction, and of those who do, only a small proportion continue to the end. As market values are at present, excellently qualified teachers of technological theory (Indian) are available on scales of Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 a month. One such teacher is likely to be required for every 50 boys. (It should be here, well noted that teachers of technology are never to be had, and are never likely to be had at any thing like the same rate as teachers of pure science or arts. The teaching institution must compete for their services with the industrial employer. To offer a lower salary than they offer is to secure as teachers only those who have failed in practice : a fatal policy.)

The salary of the Principal of a technical school should we think be regarded principally as a kind of insurance premium on the value of the buildings and plant. We are perhaps not quite consistent in abandoning market value as a basis in his case, but it is very difficult to say what the market value is. He should have had some years experience of teaching, and have extended his knowledge in many directions not exactly paralleled in practice. He is the man who will guide his Governors in the purchase of a good deal of costly machinery, and afterwards be responsible for its proper conservation. The annual cost of machinery (depreciation and interest on capital cost) is with proper care about 10% of its prime cost, but this may easily be doubled under incompetent direction. The salary of the Head of an artisan's school may suitably be  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  per



annum of its capital cost, subject to a minimum of Rs. 600 per month.

Other employees, not directly connected with teaching are likely to add 50% to the monthly salary bill.

Materials are not in general an out of pocket cost since work done even by learners can usually be sold for at least the cost of the raw materials. Indeed that ought to be the minimum pass standard for all work done by the students in an artisan school. It is outside the scope of these articles to go into great detail of courses of instruction, but we may say in passing, that the work done in an artisan school should in general be for the market and not mere exercises to be thrown on the scrap heap when completed. Though raw material is not an out of pocket cost it has, of course, to be budgetted for. A fair allowance is Rs. 100 per annum per student.

The important buildings in an artisan's school are the workshops. They should be *pukka*, but need not be very expensive. Direct sunlight and rain are to be excluded, but not light and air. In certain districts subject to dust storms all sides of shops must be capable of being occasionally closed, but there should never be a permanent wall on the (long) north side, or on any other side shielded from the direct rays of the sun. If plenty of light and air is provided for in this way the buildings need not be very tall. We may estimate Rs. 7-8 per square foot, and 100 square feet per student, making cost of buildings Rs. 750 per student. This ought to cover offices, class rooms, and a good wall round the workshop compound as well.

Cost of machinery cannot be very exactly estimated as so much per student, unless we begin by saying that the minimum number of boys should be 100. Below that number the cost per student is likely to be excessive, and as numbers increase above that, more moderate. The reason is that the machines are costly, and no matter how few boys there are, complete efficiency is not possible without a representative collection. A lathe that cost Rs. 1,000/- for instance may be used to teach half

a dozen boys but one boy would require no fewer. On the other hand if it were decided that Rs. 1,000/- would be afforded for one boy, then Rs. 6,000/- could be afforded for six and five other machines of different kinds made available, with an enormous increase of efficiency. A sufficiently accurate preliminary estimate of the probable cost of a fairly complete equipment of modern machinery may be got by multiplying the number of boys by Rs. 2,000/- and adding Rs. 50,000/- to the result. This is the shock and no mistake! But it is useless to shirk it. It is assumed throughout these articles that the object of vocational education is to teach modern methods and for that the machine is indispensable. Nor does the above fully estimate the cost of it. Provision for depreciation or renewal at the rate of about 10% per annum should also be made. In these days it does not do to lay down a costly plant, and then assume the work done for good. There should always be one or two machines in course of installation, and one or two in course of disposal. Otherwise within a decade most of the plant will be more or less obsolete.

If the school is in a country district hostels have also to be provided ; but on the other hand land will be cheap. If it is in a town hostels may perhaps be dispensed with, the boys living with their relations outside the school, but land for the school itself is likely to be rather costly. The minimum cost of hostels providing dormitories (not separate rooms for each boy) is in any case not likely to be much under Rs. 800/- per student. To sum up, the costs of an artisan school in India for not fewer than 100 students are likely to be :—

*Non-Recurring.*

				Rs.
Buildings	...	...	...	75,000
Equipment	...	...	...	2,50,000
Hostels	...	...	...	80,000
			Total	4,05,000

*Recurring (annually) .*

			Rs.
Salaries and wages	...	...	40,000
Stipends	...	...	10,000
Material	...	...	10,000
Depreciation and Renewal	...	...	25,000
			<hr/> 85,000

These are the figures of expenditure for budgetting purposes. A wider view from the point of view of the country as a whole would rather put it thus, assuming an average life of twenty years' duration after leaving the school.

Expenditure	Income
Interest on and depreciation of buildings Rs. 13,000	The wages of 20 boys per annum raised from Rs. 10
Salaries and wages Rs. 40,000	per month to Rs. 40
Stipends..... Rs. 10,000	per month for 20 years to follow....Rs. 1,44,000
Interest and depreciation of machinery	Rs. 25,000
Total Expenditure Rs. 88,000	

Subject of course to a considerable deduction for present value of the amount not immediately to be realized but neglecting certain spiritual values not to be estimated in terms of rupees, annas and pies, and the profits that the employers of the boys will expect to make on their labour. Of course no one will employ them without a reasonable prospect of making such a profit. However all these though real enough, and probably

considerable; are neglected as too speculative for even approximate estimate. Even so the thing is well worth doing.

Many people must know that it is easier for a good *mistri* to get Rs. 50 a month than it is for a graduate to get Rs. 30. It is likely to be so for a long time to come. The technical expert by his own exertions makes the money that pays his wage. The market for his services is an expanding one, but the market for the merely learned person is already nearing saturation point. The great gap in Indian Education at present is the lack of that kind of education that produces wealth.

In starting an enterprise of this kind, the first thing to be done is to engage the Principal and his expert assistants. Nothing should be done on the buildings without his advice. Any number of Engineers can be found to undertake the buildings, and it is not unusual to engage one of these for the purpose and attempt to save the staff's salary until the buildings are ready. This, however, is a false economy. The putting down of plant should be spread over a period of 5 years, but as soon as the first batch arrives one fifth of the ultimate full number of students may be admitted, and thereafter, another fifth in every succeeding year. One reason for this procedure is that the installation of machinery is almost, if not quite as instructive as its working after installation, and the other is that if the full number is admitted in one year, there will be an embarrassing fluctuation in stipends with a five year period, and also in the quality of work turned out. After five years all the boys would be skilled, but be on the points of leaving to be replaced by beginners throughout. There should always from the beginning be present in the school both students to do work that required no particular knowledge and also some seniors for the high class work. The *mistries* may do that in the first year or two of the schools existence, until senior students become available. The engagement of the full number of *mistries* should not be deferred until the full number of students are admitted. There is always plenty of work for a good *mistri* where machinery is being

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installed. The general conclusion is that the heavy non-recurring charges may with advantage be spread over 6 years, but most of the recurring charges properly begin at once.

We have been estimating so far on the basis of a hundred students. This would mean that the students could be given a choice of any one of about a dozen kindred trades, as for instance, Smith, Fitter, Turner, Moulder, Pattern Maker, Carpenter, Painter, Motor Mechanic Electric Wireman, Copper Smith, Engine Driver, and Draftsman. A number greater than a hundred would in general mean the addition of other trades rather than of more boys working at the above group.

Coming now to the University College granting a degree in Technology ; the way may be fitly prepared by mentioning that the prime cost of such an institution in the West may be anything from 50 to 100 lakhs. The smaller sum would cover the cost of a modest college of Engineering, but not by a long way the cost of a complete college of technology no matter how modest it might be.

Unless a University is prepared to face expenditure on this scale the idea of an Engineering College or of a College of Technology had better be given up until it is. Assuming however, that this is to be faced we will begin as in the previous case with recurring charges. The principle on which students' stipends should be calculated has already been given. The reader's knowledge of Indian social conditions probably enables him to make a better estimate than the writer could. Probably the average stipend should be four times the average artisans' stipend, and constant from beginning to end of a four years course. There is not the same risk of his being tempted away before the end. It comes to about Rs. 30/- per month exclusive of books and instruments and class fees. Each student must have his own drawing instruments (cost per set Rs. 100/-) : but if text books are supplied they should be lent not given. A student should be for ever finished with his text books when he leaves the college ;

and further reading should be the technical press, or advanced monographs not used in the schools. Text books supplied on these lines are not a heavy item. One book if the student is forced to take care of it may serve a dozen before it is worn out. A University College of course requires a good technical library, but as compared with other costs this is not serious. There is a comparatively heavy outlay for proceedings and bound journals covering not more than the preceeding ten years at the beginning, but no attempt should be made to fill the shelves at once. To do so would be to buy a great number of obsolete and moribund books. An initial outlay of Rs. 5,000/-, and thereafter an annual grant of two or three thousand rupees for books and journals will cover the library.

About the staff it is necessary to say something likely to be very indigestible at the outset. It is that the Head of a good many of the Departments for the present should be Europeans ; not necessarily Englishmen, provided they know English, the usual second language of the Indian student. The ideal Head of the Applied Chemistry Department for instance is likely to be a German. It would probably be difficult to find a German professor who did not know English at least as well as the Indian student does. A German professor would teach Indian students a great deal more than his own subject. We need not elaborate this point. The conclusion for our present purpose is that salaries of Heads of technical departments must be sufficiently high to attract Europeans or Indians of equivalent qualifications. It means something between Rs. 1,500/-, and Rs. 2,000/- per month for each Head of a purely technical department, such as Applied Chemistry, Metallurgy, Textiles, etc. In the third article it was explained why an Indian having the same degree as his European colleague is not necessarily or even probably his equal in technical knowledge.

Having made this probably highly unpopular point it may now be freely admitted the rest of the staff including

the Principal should be Indians, and working as usual on the principle of market values, that the salaries of all except the Principal may be much lower than that advised for Heads of Technical Departments. The reason that we want an Indian as Principal, is that his concern is principally with administration, educational method and external social conditions. There is no need that he should have a highly specialized knowledge of any branch of Technology, in fact it is undesirable; because it always leads to trouble between him and the Head of that particular department, and he is very likely to spend time on intensive study, and experiment that ought to be spent on administration. One of the most successful technical colleges in the West became so under a Principal who never pretended to any expert knowledge of Technology at all. To preserve the dignity of his post the Principal should receive one or two hundreds a month more than Heads of Departments, but there is no other reason why he should be paid more or even as much.

The reason why assistants should be all Indians is that it is in such posts that the Heads of Departments in the next generation should be trained. Rs. 500/- to Rs. 1200/- is a reasonable salary for a senior assistant professor. The most junior demonstrator should get not less than Rs. 250/- to Rs. 500/-. How many of such teachers are required will depend on the number of Departments and the number of students. A rough estimate may be made on the basis of one junior teacher for every 15 students. This does not mean classes of only 15 members. A junior teacher in a University has got a sufficiently full time table if his teaching hours are half as many in a week as the hours per week of the students. Much spare time for preparation is essential.

Workshop in a University College, are to a large extent though not entirely replaced by laboratories. Apparatus is not subject to nearly such a heavy depreciation on account of obsolescence as workshop machinery is. Much, perhaps most of it is

to illustrate fundamental principles that do not change with time as workshop methods do. On the other hand the apparatus is very much more expensive than workshop machinery is, because nearly all of it is stuff not made in large quantities by the methods of mass production. It may be generally said that the cost of laboratory plant and such workshops as are necessary in a University College is likely to be at least Rs. 10,000/- per student. This is of course a very heavy cost and for similar reasons to those already stated it should be spread over the better part of the decade.

Of the buildings we need not say more than that they should be architecturally worthy of a University, but that there is no reason why they should be more or less expensive than the buildings of a good Science College. The same applies to hostels. Rs. 1,500/- per student will provide single seated rooms with reasonable comfort.

Because it is important we will conclude by saying once more that nothing should be done on buildings or equipment before the expert Heads of Departments are on the spot. Not that they are to be taken too seriously of course. Every one of them will begin by saying with complete conviction that the amount we have allowed for the whole college is barely sufficient for his own department. It is to moderate these demands that a Principal without technical bias is required.

L. D. COUESLANT



## TO FOUR YOUNG PINE TREES

By Tu Fu

(Translated by Chi Hwang Chu)

When I first transplanted you in this garden  
 None of you was more than three feet high.  
 Three years have passed since I saw you last,  
 Now you all stand upright and as tall as I.  
 If you can only keep your roots from injury!  
 People may damage your leaves but never your soul.  
 Although you do not have a bright color to show,  
 Yet no one can fail to see a strong and upright soul in you.  
 For your safety I built a low fence.  
 How did it happen that you have become hurt?  
 Though only a little stem is broken, a thousand leaves have  
 become yellow.

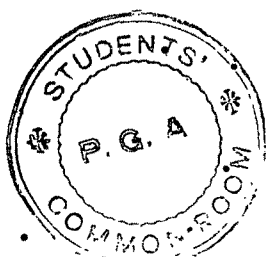
How can I think of retiring to be with you,  
 While all my brothers are still in deep trouble?  
 I have come back only because the fighting is not yet over.  
 I did not expect to see the house fully occupied by tall grass.  
 Seeing things change and decay I cannot help sighing.  
 I came back to you for company and consolation and  
 The light wind, springing up before me,  
 Sweep over my face like frost.  
 This is good enough to comfort an old man.  
 I am waiting only for the closing of my coffin.  
 Unlike you I do not have a root firm in the ground.  
 I cannot even be a lifelong companion to you.  
 What I can do is no more than sing my grief out in a poem,  
 And let both life and career be forgotten,  
 You alone can hope, a thousand years hence,  
 To stand with proud arms stretching into the clouds.

## ROOTING OUT WEEDS

By Tu Fu

(Translated by Chi Hwang Chu)

Since grasses are injurious to grain,  
How can I let them grow so tough and tall ?  
They are more poisonous than wasps and scorpions,  
They are so numerous as to block the path.  
In the early morning as I walk in front of the forest,  
The river not yet clear of its mist,  
I see them, like stings in my eyes.  
How can I wait until Autumn  
When dew's harden into frost,  
When even orchid leaves have to go ?  
So I take my hoe on my shoulders and  
Leading a group of children,  
Root them out until sunset,  
Throwing them into the river.  
They may also entangle my fish string,  
But since their tough roots can easily strike root in soil,  
I cannot let them remain on land.  
Hereafter, even the fences will be freer,  
Pine and bamboo trees more leisurely—  
Truly I cannot neglect a clearing out.  
I truly hate everything that is bad like an enemy.



## MUNICIPAL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS

Democracy does not seem to be a mere passing phase of social theory and practice. As a form of government, it has come to stay. Its full significance has not yet been manifest. It is only unfolding itself gradually. No doubt already it has come to be associated with a good many undesirable practices. It has indeed been stigmatised as unprogressive. But all the same, it is making a constant and systematic headway in all parts of the world. And the remedy for democratic ills has been sought in more democracy still. Now true democracy really means "Everything for the people and by the people." It is the direct antithesis of the principle which Napoleon held so dear,—“Everything for the people, nothing by the people.” In a democratic form of government the people are not mere recipients of boons from above. Their duty is not limited simply to the signing of the ballot paper once in five years. They must take an abiding interest in public questions and take due responsibility for the discharge of public functions. This individual interest and initiative, however, cannot be possible in a thoroughly centralised state. The utmost they can possibly do here is to elect the authorities for a certain period and leave them to do all the duties. Otherwise “the control of the citizens generally over their government will become slack and ineffective.”<sup>1</sup>

Here if the ideal of democracy is to be fulfilled, local institutions should be developed and strengthened. For it is the local bodies that stimulate public spirit of the citizens and provide an outlet for their energy and enthusiasm. They are really the nurseries of popular freedom and liberty. “Local assemblies of citizens,” writes an eminent publicist,<sup>2</sup> “constitute the strength

<sup>1</sup> Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Trans. by H. Reeve, 1862), Vol. I, p. 55.

of free nations. Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science." The local institutions again are an excellent antidote to the dominating influence which the Capital City may exercise over the rest of the country. "They contribute to the development of local centres of thought and actions."<sup>1</sup> They help the growth of local traditions and always stimulate local opinion. They add thus to variety and richness of public life and save the people from the monotony of thought and action.

• Of the local institutions, again, the cities and towns have problems of their own. These problems are only of local importance and the people outside the municipal areas would not be in the least interested in them. "The paving, lighting, and the cleansing of the streets of a town, and in ordinary circumstances the draining of its houses are of little consequence to any but its inhabitants."<sup>2</sup> It is quite logical, therefore, that the citizens in the municipal areas should be allowed to run their own peculiar concerns as far as possible unhampered by external interference. Local autonomy in these matters would serve two healthy purposes at the same time. It would open out to the citizens an opportunity for participating in public business. It would also ensure the performance of these duties to the satisfaction of the people themselves. Two valuable ends of democracy would thus be gained. But although local responsibility must be roused and local initiative encouraged, it is neither possible nor desirable that the municipal functions should be discharged altogether independently of the central government. Localism lends itself rather easily to the sinister and corrupt influence of powerful persons and groups. Public opinion limited to a particular city may not be so vigilant and watchful. Such an opinion when extended over the whole country gains a sufficient momentum and strength to make its influence felt upon the general policy and administration of the state. But cabined in

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Mill, *Representative Government* (Chap. XV).

a city, it may not recruit enough force and vitality. As a result, the government of the city will not have that driving-force which would mark it out as a progressive institution. Laxity may, in these circumstances, be another name for municipal administration. Now without the corrective of public opinion some other external stimulus is necessary to keep the institution out of the rut. This external check is provided by the central government. In fact it is obvious that "the central government must retain a power generally to control the work of local authorities."<sup>1</sup>

The municipalities again have to discharge duties not exclusively of local importance. The functions that they carry out are of course always of paramount interest to the localities. But many of these concerns have at the same time a national importance as well. And they are, really speaking, the duties of the state as a whole. They are, however delegated to the municipal authorities on the ground that local initiative in these matters would ensure greater efficiency in their administration and evoke greater public interest in their management. The municipalities thus are endowed with responsibility in these questions only as agents of the central government, which must see if this responsibility is being discharged efficiently and satisfactorily by the city bodies. "Thus the administration of the public health and the public charity and the preservation of the peace cannot be left altogether to the localities independent of all central control."<sup>2</sup> These questions touch vitally indeed the interests of the city people but their national importance also is no less paramount. The break-down of sanitary administration in a city will not—have its deadly effect limited within the city walls. It will have its repercussions over the wider country as well. Dislocation of the machinery of law and order again will not create a danger simply to

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> Frank J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administration* (Students Ed., 1903), Vol. I. p. 41.

local life and property. It will encourage the harbouring of criminals from outside the city and stimulate the spirit of lawlessness throughout the country. These are thus, to all intents and purposes, public functions in which the central government is immediately interested. Only for the sake of administrative convenience they are managed by the local bodies. But by the nature of the task, this administration cannot be exclusively vested in these institutions. The central government of the state must have a say in these matters.

There are, of course, certain functions of city government which are not of a political character at all. They are of a purely business order, such as the paving and cleansing of streets, the maintenance of proper drains, the provision of water and light. These concerns are really of exclusive interest to the city itself. Even here however the central government cannot leave matters exclusively to the city authorities. The execution of a scheme in any of these departments would involve a heavy outlay and necessitate large financial operations. "These operations may be so conducted by the municipality, through the exercise of the taxing and borrowing powers, as to derange the financial system of the state as a whole."<sup>1</sup> The central government necessarily, therefore, has to interfere with and control the financial administration of the cities. It has to regulate minutely their powers for raising revenue.

In America, the state of Illinois experimented for a period of time on the principle of absolute city autonomy in matters of local debt. The constitution of 1848 gave a free hand to the cities to incur debt according to their discretion. The power of the central government of the state was withdrawn altogether. But the result was simply disastrous. And at last the experiment had to be given up and the constitution of 1870 placed a limitation upon the indebtedness which the municipal corporations might incur.

<sup>1</sup> Goodnow, *City Government in the United States* (1908), p. 35.

Municipalities must have enough power and latitude no doubt to exercise their initiative in matters of city administration. But all the same they are not to constitute an *imperium in imperio*. The central government must have the right to check them in moments of abnormal enthusiasm and stimulate and invigorate them in times of laxity and depression. It has to protect them from a mistaken policy and help them into the proper line of action.

Municipalities, in fact, nowhere enjoy absolute autonomy. They have no inherent powers of their own. They are created by the central legislature and look to it for all authority and power. In America, the city is a municipal corporation created by the state. Its authority "may be enlarged, abridged, or entirely withdrawn by the legislature at pleasure."<sup>1</sup> In England the city bodies exercise no doubt some functions "which they are thought to possess by a sort of immemorial prescriptive right." But in law "the local authorities are simply the creatures of the legislature, set up and destroyed by it at its pleasure."<sup>2</sup> Nor is the situation any way different on the continent of Europe. "Both in France and Prussia, local self-government is regarded rather as a gift from above than as an inherent right."<sup>3</sup>

Thus the municipal bodies are unequivocally in a relation of subordination to the central government. As to the allocation of powers to the city authorities, it is a subject entirely at the discretion of the central legislature. To be successful public institutions they must, of course, have powers enough to awaken public enthusiasm. If they are to beg for authority at every step, their prestige would dwindle and their zeal would diminish. It is really a suicidal policy to tie the hands and feet of the municipal bodies so as to prohibit them altogether from doing anything new without a fresh permission of the

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Munro, *The Government of American Cities* (1913), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Ashley, *Local and Central Government* (1906), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 6.

central legislature. It seems, therefore, to be an excellent theory "to build the relationship between the local and central government on the model of the relation between the States and Washington in the American union. There the reserved powers belong to the federal authorities, and the residuary powers are within the ambit of state-control. So in similar fashion, powers not specifically forbidden to a local authority might be exercised by them."<sup>1</sup> In actual practice, at present, there are two systems in vogue. In the U.S.A. and in England, it is not recognised that the cities have a life apart from the state. They are looked upon merely as a part of the wider union, and as such are looked upon to discharge the functions which are specifically delegated to them. Beyond this schedule of duties, if the cities would like to take up any new task, they must have a further permission of the central legislature to that effect. On the continent, however, people have an entirely different conception of city government. The cities there are regarded as having a life and status of their own quite apart from the state. Their field of activity is hence wider and larger. They, in fact, exercise their jurisdiction over all subjects not definitely forbidden to them. Thus "the Anglo-American local corporation is an authority of enumerated powers; the European local corporation is an authority of general powers."<sup>2</sup>

In the U.S.A. the control of the central government of the state is exercised over the municipal institutions almost exclusively by the state legislature. The executive of the state has practically nothing to do with the city government.<sup>3</sup> In fact, legislative centralisation has been carried to such extremes in this country, as to have left no scope for the executive

<sup>1</sup> Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Goodnow, *City Government in the United States*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Of course executive control has to some extent been developed, of late. "Such supervision first appeared and has been furthest developed in connection with educational Adm." See John A. Fairlie, *Essays in Municipal Adm.* (1908), p. 34.



to intervene. The city charters not only enunciate the broad and general principles of municipal administration, but go into the minutest details and make an attempt to meet all emergencies. They define, in as detailed a fashion as possible, the powers and functions of the city authorities. "State Laws," writes Prof. Munro, "stipulate in no uncertain terms what cities must or must not do."<sup>1</sup> Now these detailed measures cannot have quite a salutary effect. They cannot take into account all the circumstances that may arise in the different cities. Nor is it desirable that every now and then the city charters should be amended "to suit changed conditions and varying needs." It is on this account that many advanced countries have accepted the fundamental principle that legislation should be only of a general character. As to the details, the executive is empowered to work them out. This provides for the permanence and sanctity of laws and at the same time takes note of the changing circumstances and conditions of the country. Now the city charters of America are not only laws but fundamental and constitutional laws. As such it is only desirable that they should have some stability at least. In point of fact, however, "city charters are most subject to alteration.....they are in the eyes of the legislature simply ordinary statutes, changeable at will and actually changed in many ways."<sup>2</sup>

It is also to be noted that city administration is a highly technical affair. And a legislative body is not the fit instrument to lay down the detailed regulations for the control of municipal business. The legislature, all the world over, has been found well-fitted for the task of enunciating the general policy of administration. If it is to regulate the details of government also, it cannot but defeat its own object. Whether the financial position of a particular city would warrant the

<sup>1</sup> Government of American Cities (1913), pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Hart, Actual Government, p. 186.

floating of a new loan, is a matter to be decided only by experts. And a state legislature cannot possibly lay any claim to being an expert body. Nor are the credentials of the legislatures any way above suspicion. They have no always the interests of cities at heart. Personal and party claims very often determine their attitude towards public questions. It is nothing uncommon with them to sacrifice the interests of the public only to subserve the interests of a clique. The member representing the local constituency again generally comes out to be the nominee of some powerful and sinister combination in the city. His activity in the legislature is accordingly all directed towards the furtherance of the interests of this selfish group. But by some understanding among the members of the legislature it is on the suggestion of this local representative that many bills affecting the general interests of the cities are rushed and "log-rolled" through the houses.<sup>1</sup> All these therefore cannot but have a disastrous effect upon the administration of the city and in fact the meddlesome attitude of the state legislature has come to be the bane of municipal government in America.

Now if legislative centralisation has been carried to the extreme in America, administrative interference is unnecessarily stringent on the continent of Europe. The two systems of central control over municipal government are thus vitally opposite. The people of the U. S. A. have pinned their faith to the principle of legislative control and administrative decentralisation. In France and Germany, on the contrary, legislative decentralisation is the rule coupled, however, with a systematic administrative grip over local affairs. This central administrative control has been carried to the farthest extent in France. A wide range of powers and functions has been left indeed to the municipal charge by the legislative system of the country. But in matters of their actual exercise, the central government

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I (Revised Edn.), pp. 645-6.

impedes the steps of the municipal authorities in every important matter. It leaves very little initiative to them. Really speaking, "local self-government exists, if at all, only on sufferance,"<sup>1</sup> in this country.

All municipal authority is not, as in England, concentrated in the city council in France. Municipal powers, here, are divided between the Mayor and the council. Some of the functions of the city government are entrusted to the mayor and he is responsible for their discharge. There are again other duties which fall quite within the authority of the city council.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these two factors of civic administration is however independent of central control. The law of the land in fact places them entirely in the hands of the central government. The action of the council is not only controlled by powers above, but it can even be suspended and dissolved by the fiat of the higher authorities.<sup>3</sup> Nor does the Mayor any way enjoy a more independent status. He also may be suspended from office and even removed altogether by Presidential decree.<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily, of course, these powers of suspension, removal and dissolution are not exercised, but none the less the very fact that they are held in reserve is sufficient to cow down any recalcitrant council or any independent Mayor.

The field of activity in which the city authorities in France enjoy any real local autonomy is quite circumscribed. In a large number of affairs, the city government merely acts in an advisory capacity. The initiative and final authority rest with the superior power. In a greater number of concerns, again, it takes the initiative indeed but without the sanction of higher authorities nothing final can be done. It is only in

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Harris, *Local Govt. in Many Lands* (1926), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Sait, *Govt. and Politics of France* (1920), p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 262. "A recalcitrant council may be suspended for a month by the Prefect or dissolved, by the ministry."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 264.

a very limited sphere that both initiative and final authority rest with the city government.<sup>1</sup>

As in France, the powers of a Prussian municipality are also wide and very extensive. The law grants certain general powers to the municipal corporations and excepting the functions definitely withdrawn from them, the city bodies can take up any duty in hand. In fact, German cities are charged with the general administration of the communal affairs. And for the proper discharge of this duty, they may take up any function of government, provided it has not been dealt with by any central legislation and provided it is exclusively of local interest.<sup>2</sup> But though the scope is wide, the cities cannot discharge the functions, independent of all external control. Resolutions of city councils require the approval of higher authorities, generally the Circle Committee, before they can be effective. In all measures initiated by the city administration, the final authority rests with the agents of the central government; without their sanction, none of them may come into force. Under the law, the control of the central government may be really very stringent. A recalcitrant city council may be even suspended and dissolved as in France, by the central authority. In the system of control which the central administration exercises over the chief executive of the city, the German practice of course differs to some extent from the French. The *Maire* in France, we have seen, can be removed by the Presidential decree, but the Prussian city magistrate can only be removed by the decision of the administrative court. The situation in Prussia is thus to some extent better than in France.

Now although in theory and in point of law, the Municipalities in France and Germany occupy almost the same status and are subject to the same stringent control of the central government, in fact the situation is not quite the same in these

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Munro, *The Govt. of European Cities* (1914), pp. 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany* (1916), pp. 28, 32.

two countries. In France, the bureaucracy is unimaginative and unenlightened while in Germany it has proved to be go-ahead and liberal.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the control of the bureaucratic agents of the central government has crushed all life out of the city authorities in France. In Germany, however, the same bureaucracy has succeeded in instilling more self-respect into the local bodies and stimulating more activity on their part. In fact, while in France petty interference has gone on unabated, in Germany more deconcentration has been encouraged, and followed. In the opinion of a prominent writer<sup>2</sup> this method of deconcentration has been in fact given such a full play in Germany as to invest the cities with more autonomy than is enjoyed even by English boroughs.

Now while legislative centralisation has gained a foothold in the U. S. A. and stringent administrative control has been accepted on the continent of Europe, England has struck out a *via media* between the two opposing principles and methods. A mixed system of control has been evolved in this country. As we have seen already, the cities in England do not enjoy any general powers. Functions to be discharged by the municipalities are specially granted to them by the Parliament. Beyond this if any new power is desired by a city authority, it can be conferred on it only by Parliamentary enactment. Of course, the statutes under which the municipalities continue their administration are couched only in general terms. They only embody some broad provisions. They do not go into details and make no attempt to meet all circumstances. The details are worked out by the central departments, which issue the regulations according to the demands of the occasion. This system makes impossible in England the evils which have been associated with the American legislative centralisation. The regulations cannot be so hard and fast, so hide-bound in England, as in the U. S. A. Some kind of elasticity is provided

<sup>1</sup> Ashley, Local and Central Government.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, Municipal Life and Government in Germany, p. 387.

in the former. Nor is the propensity for constant legislative interference at all encouraged in England. Besides, many of the powers which the municipalities may demand from time to time and which are of a private character are granted by the Parliament only according to a special procedure.<sup>1</sup> It is in this field that corruption is rampant in the U. S. A. That is, however, obviated in England by the semi-judicial arrangement of private legislation. Whether a particular city should be granted the right of managing its own tramways is to be decided by the Parliament, indeed, but not in the ordinary way. This is an instance of private legislation and has its own peculiar procedure.

We have so far only enunciated the general principles of central control over local action. It is noticeable in our survey that while in the U. S. A. the central interference is almost wholly of a legislative character, in Europe it is also administrative. In the continental countries in fact it is more administrative than legislative. We shall now study in some detail how the working of the municipal machinery is really affected by this interference of the central executive. In the field of finance, we find that both on the Continent and in England, the central administrative departments have been invested with a wide range of control over local initiative. In France, the municipal council has not the final voice in the preparation and passing of the budget. It must be approved by the Prefect and in some cases also by the Minister of the Interior at Paris, before it may come into operation.<sup>2</sup> The Prefect can reduce the estimated expenditure of the city, may introduce a change in the estimated receipts and affect thereby the tax-rate of the

<sup>1</sup> Lowell, *The Government of England*, Vol. I, pp. 367-382.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "The budgets of small communes must have the approving countersign of the Prefect before they can have legal effect, while the large municipalities must send their yearly volume of budgetary proposals to the Minister of the Interior upon whose advice the President of the Republic either approves of it, or else returns it with criticisms for revision." See Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, p. 179.

municipality. Again, in case the city council fails to vote any budget, the Prefect has been empowered to prepare one on the basis of the average of the preceding three years' schedules and put it at once, on his own initiative, into action. Thus the central government and its agent exercise a very great influence in the field of municipal finance. To some extent we may say they hold the purse strings in local administration.

In England, on the contrary, the municipalities enjoy sufficient autonomy in the matter of the budget. The preparation and the final sanction of the budget, are, in fact, the prerogatives of the city council. And the central government possesses no power of initiative or veto over them. What the central departments are to see is that the city authorities do not transgress the laws which have been set up by the Parliament to limit the taxing and other powers of the city bodies. In case of such transgression, White Hall may invoke the aid of the judiciary against the erring and recalcitrant municipality. Beyond this, the central government cannot proceed.

German cities occupy a position midway between those in France and England. A copy of the budget is sent in this country to the supervisory authority. But its formal approval is not ordinarily necessary for the budget to come into effect. In case again any objection is taken by this higher authority to an alleged irregularity, its opinion is not final. The city body may appeal to the supreme Administration Court from the ultimate decision.<sup>1</sup>

Connected with the passing of the budget is the question of borrowing money on the credit of the municipality. Without recourse to a loan, it is not possible to-day to carry through any big scheme of municipal improvement. The ordinary income of the city is just enough to run the routine administration. It cannot cope any way with the additional outlay

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*, p. 295.

involved in a new venture. Loan, therefore, comes out to be a part and parcel of municipal finance and the right to float a loan must be vested, as a matter of course, in the city authority. But this right cannot be unqualified. It has to be checked by higher powers, otherwise there would be a chance of its misuse. The central Government must see that no debt is being incurred lightly and that proper provision has been made for its gradual liquidation. It is also to see if at all the state of municipal finance would warrant the incurring of a fresh loan. The central departments, hence, must be consulted whenever a new proposal of a loan would crop up in the municipality. Without the definite sanction of the central government, it must not be undertaken on any account. In France, the city council may finally sanction the incurring of small and petty debts. But "when sums of any considerable importance are required the concurrence of the Prefect must be had and if the loan involves any special tax levy during a long period the approval of the government at Paris must be obtained."<sup>1</sup>

In Germany also the cities do not enjoy much autonomy, in this field. "As a rule loans may be contracted only with the sanction of the state supervisory authority."<sup>2</sup> Not is the position of the English city any way different. "Not only do the loans of local bodies require in all cases the consent of some department of central government, but careful provisions are made for re-payment."<sup>3</sup> This control over the borrowing powers of the cities is really very rigid and stringent. It gives the central departments the right "to lay down almost any conditions they wish before acceding to a request for new borrowing power."<sup>4</sup> The main object of this central interference is no doubt to maintain the financial soundness of the city government and to prevent any extravagance on its part. But very

<sup>1</sup> Munro, *Government of European Cities*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Municipal Life and Government in Germany*, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Lowell, *The Government of England*, Vol. II, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> E. D. Simon, *A City Council from Within* (1926), pp. 111-12.



often this control actually amounts to a dictation of policy from above which is naturally grudged by the locality.

While in the matter of municipal debt we notice a similarity of central interference, the system of control over the municipal executive is not the same in England and the Continent. In England, the supreme authority of the municipality is vested in the city council. Both the deliberative and administrative duties are combined in its hands. The committees of the corporation that constitute the executive heads of the different departments are appointed and dissolved by the council itself. They possess all the initiative and exercise immense influence on the city administration indeed. But all their action is subject to the approval of the council. They are the creatures of the council and act always under its oversight and supervision. Nor is the position of the Town Clerk whose office co-ordinates the activities of the various administrative departments, any way better and more improved. He is also appointed by the council and is responsible to it for all his action. He is the servant of the council which is his supreme and the only master. Beyond the council, he cannot look for inspiration and power.

In France and Germany on the other hand the executive administration is not vested in the city council. The Maire in France is no doubt the nominee of the communal council, but it is he and not the council that has been invested with the execution of the municipal work. In Germany too, there is complete severance between the deliberative and the administrative fields of city business. And the executive administration of the city is vested not in the council but in the Magistrat. Now the Maire in France and the Magistrat in Germany constitute not only the chief executives of the municipal administration but are also agents of the central government. The Maire represents the central government for the publication and enforcement of its laws. He acts, really speaking, as a local officer of the national

administration and constitutes a part of its executive machinery. In this capacity, he is altogether independent of the city council and comes directly under the thumb of the Prefect and his ministerial superior. His actions in this field are subject to Prefectoral revision and veto, and in case of dereliction of duty he may be suspended from office by the Prefect or dismissed altogether by presidential decree. In Germany, the burgomaster and his colleagues on the administrative board are selected by the town council no doubt, but their appointment is subject to confirmation by the higher authority. Within the area of the municipality the burgomaster and his associates are not only the chief executive of the city but are officers of the Central Government. In the latter capacity they are outside the control of the city council. They are representatives of the central administration and are controlled by it as such. They owe to it all responsibility and look to it for guidance in these matters."

The city authorities everywhere administer some functions of Government which are, in reality, national in character. For efficient and satisfactory administration only, they are entrusted to the charge of local authority and are not discharged directly from the centre. But though made over to the local Government for management, the central administration cannot absolve itself of all responsibility for their right and proper execution. In England, before 1833, the national Government did not interest itself so much in these questions. It left them all to local initiative and local resources. But soon there developed a demand from the local ratepayers that "services which are predominantly national in character, although locally administered, shall be paid for out of national funds."<sup>1</sup> To meet this demand as well as "to stimulate local effort by grants conditional on efficiency"<sup>2</sup> a system of grant-in-aid was devised and

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Local Government in Many Lands*, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Lowell, *The Government of England*, Vol. II, p. 189.

it was first authorised in 1833 for the development of schools.<sup>1</sup> To-day Government subventions form a large percentage of municipal revenue and subsidies are granted for the administration of such items as, Education, Sanitation, Public Health, Police, Housing and so on. Now if these functions were left to local resources alone, the local authorities might have demanded absolute power over them. But once state help has been accepted, the central government must claim some voice in these affairs and exercise some control over their management. He that pays the piper must call for the tune as well. The grant-in-aid, in fact "is always given with the proviso that if the work is not up to a certain minimum standard a portion of the grant may be withheld. This gives the Ministry full power to inspect, criticise, and suggest, and to insist effectively on its suggestions being carried out."<sup>2</sup> The central government has now built up an elaborate body of rules and regulations for the recruitment and management of the police force. It has also set up a similar code of regulations for the administration of public health and sanitation. The Government at White Hall has also now at its command an army of expert Inspectors whose business it is to see that the city authorities are acting up to these regulations. The heads of these departments of civic administration again are appointed and dismissed only with the consent and sanction of the central government. It is not within the right of the city to put any person it likes at the head of the police force. The efficiency of the force for which the national government provides 50 per cent. grant-in-aid, depends to a great extent, upon the fitness of the Chief Constable for his post. His selection and removal are thus too important to be left absolutely at the discretion of the city council. Then again the by-laws which the cities are required to frame from time to time touching police regulations must be

<sup>1</sup> John A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901), p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Simon, *A City Council from Within*, p. 115.

submitted to the Home Secretary who, acting on behalf of the crown, may disallow them. Similar control is exercised from above in other departments as well. Thus "confirmation by the Local Government Board is necessary for the appointments and dismissal of those medical officers and sanitary inspectors whose salaries local authorities wish to be borne partially by the Exchequer Contribution Account."<sup>1</sup> These departments are run partly by central grants and the central government determines, on this account, the qualifications, duties and tenure of office of their incumbents. The system of grant-in-aid has thus considerably curbed municipal freedom and given rise to extensive administrative control which is exercised by the central authorities at London over the borough officers and the authorities."<sup>2</sup>

In France and Germany, the police functions are looked upon as belonging really to the Central Government. But in fact, they are carried out through local agency. The term "police," of course, bears a very wide connotation and includes such administrative duties as sanitation and public health. In France, this function is generally vested in the Maire, but he exercises this power subject to the prefectural control. This control from above is actually very rigid. In the other departments, the Maire is invested with full authority over his subordinates. He appoints and dismisses them without the concurrence of any superior power. But in the police department his authority is always limited. The Commissioner of Police who is the head of this department, is appointed not by the Maire but by the President of the Republic. The other officers of the department are selected, no doubt, by the Maire but their final appointment has to be confirmed by the Prefect. Without the consent of the Prefect, they cannot also be dismissed. All acts of the Maire in this field are subject to review

<sup>1</sup> Ashby, *Local and Central Government*, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Frank J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administrative Law*, Vol. I, p. 256.

by the Prefect. The Prefect can annul them all and "has also power in many cases to issue direct orders of his own."<sup>1</sup>

In Germany, the police authority "is retained as a function of the State," and "the cost of the police in large cities is as a rule, borne chiefly by the State, although in some places it is shared by the municipalities."<sup>2</sup> In cities, with less than 100,000 inhabitants, the charge of the police is entrusted to the burgomaster who is responsible for its administration to the central government and is independent altogether in this capacity of the Town Council. He appoints the Chief Police Commissioner who is responsible to him for the day to day administration of the department. But although appointed by him, this officer cannot be removed by the burgomaster. Even over the other subordinate officers of the department, the burgomaster does not exercise absolute authority. They also cannot be dismissed from office by him. The removal of these police officers is the prerogative of the central government.<sup>3</sup> In towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants, again, the Director of the Police Department is appointed not by the burgomaster but by the central government and it is to the central government that this Police President is ultimately responsible for this work. Thus so far as the police functions are concerned, the central government keeps tight the reins of power and the German burgomaster in the discharge of these duties occupies almost the same position as the French Maire.

Now if the municipalities generally are not beyond the control of the central government this interference is more direct and frank in regard to the capital cities all over the world. In the good government of the capital towns, not only the citizens of these places, but people all over the country are interested. These cities are to be administered for the welfare not simply of their own permanent inhabitants but of the people

<sup>1</sup> Lowell, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. I, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Munro, *The Government of European Cities*, pp. 194-95.

all over the state. They have all of them a stake in the capital town. Hence if the citizens of the general municipalities may not claim an untrammelled voice in their affairs, this condition applies more so to the case of the inhabitants of political centres. In London, we find the control over the Metropolitan Police is not vested in the local authorities. Its direction is solely vested in the Home Secretary. The Commissioner of Police for the London County is appointed not by the local body but by the Home Secretary on his own initiative. And it is to this Secretary of State that the Commissioner is responsible for all his activity. Now in the capital city of England, only the department of Police has been thus brought under more intimate and direct control of the central government. In Washington, the federal capital of the United States of America, however, the whole municipal administration has been taken out of the hands of the citizens and put under the authority of a Committee of the Senate. In the capital cities of some of the States also, central control has grown apace and the Police Departments of Boston, St. Louis and Baltimore have been placed under the direct administrative control of the State. All this has been brought about "on the theory that the whole state is too much interested in the Police administration of the metropolis to permit it to be left in local hands."<sup>1</sup> In the French Republic also, central control over the affairs of Paris is very stringent. "The great capital city is regarded as belonging not alone to its citizens but also to all the people of France. Its magnificence has been attained in large measure at the cost of the national treasury."<sup>2</sup> And all the organs of national government are centred in Paris. Hence the country as a whole has a considerable stake in the capital city which cannot be allowed on that account to be administered any way by its citizens. In fact, the municipal executive of Paris is vested altogether in the agents of the central government.

<sup>1</sup> Munro, *The Government of American Cities*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, p. 22.

"The Prefect of the Department of the Seine, who owes his appointment to the general government, and whose immediate superior is the Minister of the Interior, is in fact the Mayor of Paris, with complete executive authority." Of course, the Police functions are not assigned to him. The management of this task has been made over by law to the Prefect of Police who is also similarly appointed by, and is responsible to, the central government. The two Prefects are colleagues, one not being in any way subordinate to the other. They two make up the executive of the city and for their administrative action they are not in the least responsible to the citizens. They are the servants and agents of the central government.

In India, the municipalities are created by the Provincial Legislatures. "They exist only by statute or express legislative enactment. They can have no other source than the sovereign power."<sup>1</sup> They have no inherent rights and powers of their own. They exercise only the functions definitely made over to them by statute. In this respect, they differ from the municipalities of Continental Europe and are on a par with the Anglo-American cities. They are corporations endowed only with specific and enumerated functions and not with general powers. The control of the Government over the municipalities is thus legislative in character, though administrative supervision is also not lacking. In fact, as in England, the central control over municipal destiny is both of legislative and administrative character in this country. The legislature specifically grants the duties which the city authorities are to fulfil and without a further legislative enactment no additional power can be conferred upon them. At the same time, the executive departments of the Provincial Government would supervise their action even in this circumscribed field. Thus legislative control

<sup>1</sup> P. D. Aiyanger, *The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India* (Second Ed., 1924), p. 11.

over the local authorities is full and administrative control abundant.<sup>1</sup>

In England, we have seen, the control which the central departments exercise over the local authorities "is almost entirely judicial." "If a local authority persists in its refusal to obey the law, all a department can do is to invoke the aid of the Courts of Justice and then the conflict is no longer between the local authority and a central administrative office, but between the recalcitrant authority and a legal tribunal."<sup>2</sup> But in India almost every Municipal Act "provides for contingencies in which the powers and properties of the municipality may be taken over by the government and exercised by it directly through its own agents. The city governments of the three Presidency towns only may not be extinguished in this fashion."<sup>3</sup> Even in Presidency towns, however, there are provisions in the Municipal Acts which empower the Provincial Government to get done through its own agent a municipal business which the local authority has failed to carry out. No resort to the law court is necessary here. The municipal corporation must carry out the provisions of the Statute to the satisfaction of the Provincial Government. If the Government is of opinion that any of the duties enjoined by the Act has not been performed at all or performed not adequately and properly enough, it may, after due warning, depute one of its own representatives to carry on the business.

In the United Kingdom, the Council is the supreme authority in municipal administration and the central government has no voice in its composition. It consists of councillors elected by the citizens and aldermen "chosen by the council immediately after the election in November."<sup>4</sup> But even in

<sup>1</sup> K. T. Shah and G. J. Bahadurji, *Constitutions, Functions, and Finance of Indian Municipalities*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Ashley, *Local and Central Government*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> N. Ghose, *Comparative Administrative Law* (Tagore Law Lectures, 1928, p. 185).

<sup>4</sup> F. C. Hoye, *The British City* (1907), p. 28.



the Presidency towns of India, the council is not wholly elective. Some of the members everywhere are appointed by the Government.<sup>1</sup> They do not represent directly any interest in the country ; they do not act as the mouth-piece of the rate-payers. They represent simply the view-point of the central administration and their only constituency, in the words of Mr. Chintamani, is the Government House. This imposition of the nominees of the Government upon the municipal council is a peculiarity to India.

Nor is the Government content even with this interference. In some of the Presidency towns, the Council is not the supreme municipal authority. In the cities of Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, in fact, there are three distinct authorities enjoying almost co-ordinate position in Municipal affairs. The Council, the Standing Committee and the Commissioner have their own spheres of authority. They are rival powers, one not being definitely subordinate to the other.<sup>2</sup>

"In Bombay, the Standing Committee prepares the Budget estimates for consideration and adoption by the Corporation, and has power to reduce any budget grant made by the Corporation and to re-appropriate funds voted by the Corporation, subject to the limitation that the aggregate of expenditure sanctioned by the Corporation must not be increased by any act of the Standing Committee."<sup>3</sup> The Standing Committee exercises really a good amount of power and influence in municipal administration. And in its formation also the Government claims and exercises some voice. Out of 16 members of the Committee twelve are chosen by the Council but the remaining four are the nominees of the Government.

Far greater authority than this is, however, wielded by the Commissioner of these three cities. He is the Chief Executive

<sup>1</sup> In Calcutta ten members are appointed by the Government (Section 5 (b) of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923).

<sup>2</sup> Aiyanger, *The Law of Municipal Corporations*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Shah and Bahadurji, p. 83.

Officer of the Municipality and in the opinion of Mr. V. J. Patel, possesses under the Act far more powers than the President and all the members of the Corporation put together. The entire executive control of the Municipal affairs is vested in him. But he is not appointed by, or really responsible to, the Municipal Council. He "is appointed by the Governor-in-Council for a renewable period of three years."<sup>1</sup> His pay, pension and other allowances are all determined by the same authority. As the Chief Executive Officer, he is expected to be the servant of the Municipal Council. But in Madras, Bombay and Rangoon, the Commissioner "is a servant who is, by the law of his being, made more powerful than the master he is supposed to serve."<sup>2</sup>

In Calcutta the Municipal Act of 1923 has swept away many of these anomalies and incongruities. Government nomination to the Council still continues, as we have seen, to some extent. But the co-ordinate authorities have all been dispensed with and the Corporation has been invested with supreme authority.<sup>3</sup> The Council now is the source of all power and the fountain of all influence. The Old Standing Committee that enjoyed a co-ordinate position has been done away with and the present committees exercise the powers only delegated to them by the Council itself. The Chief Executive Officer of the Municipality is no longer an imposition from above. He is appointed by the council and paid a salary settled by the council. His tenure also is determined by the same body. His appointment, salary and tenure of service, however, must be confirmed by the Government. And without this sanction, they are not valid. In the case of the two Deputy Executive Officers, the Chief Engineer and the Health Officer also, similar confirmation by the Government of Bengal is necessary.<sup>4</sup> The control of the

<sup>1</sup> Aiyanger, *The Law of Municipal Corporations*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Shah and Bahadurji, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, *A Nation in Making* (1925), p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359 (Section 51 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923).

Government is limited only to this sanction. Otherwise the Chief Executive Officer is entirely under the authority of the council and exercises only such powers as are conferred upon him by the council.

In the field of finance and detailed administration, the control of the Government over the cities in India is quite enormous. Every municipal Corporation must have the sanction of the Government before any loan may be floated. The district Municipalities are not allowed to raise loans in the open market. "They can only obtain a loan from Government under the provisions of Local Authorities Loans Act V of 1914".<sup>1</sup> This restriction does not apply to the presidency cities. They can float a loan in the open market. The proposal of such a loan, however, must be brought in detail to the notice of the Government. The Government must approve of the object for which the loan is to be raised. It must be agreeable as to the parties from whom the debt is to be incurred. And it must also be satisfied as to the terms and conditions which the loan would involve. When the consent of the Government has been obtained in all these particulars, the Corporation may incur the debt. In case the amount of the loan comes up to twenty-five lacs of rupees or is below this figure, the Provincial Government may sanction or disallow it finally. If, however, the amount exceeds twenty-five lacs of rupees, the sanction of the Government of India must be obtained in all the details.<sup>2</sup> It has been taken for granted by the framers of the municipal constitution of Calcutta that the market for raising Government loan is only a limited and restricted one. And in this restricted field if there is competition and rivalry among the Central, Provincial and Municipal Governments, the market for the loan would become stringent. In order to avoid such a contingency, the Central Government of India has been empowered to control the

<sup>1</sup> Aiyanger, p. 256.

Section 97 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923.

borrowing powers of the Provincial and the Municipal Governments. This interference from Delhi or Simla is however unnecessary and uncalled for. In the other Federal Unions, it is the State or the Provincial Governments that exclusively control Municipal Administration. The Central Government has been left altogether out of the concern. In Canada, it is the Provincial Government that finally approves the loan proposals. And that is the case also with the Australian Commonwealth. The State Government sanctions or disallows them. The constitution has not assigned any power to the Central Government in this field. The Indian administrators have been unnecessarily pessimistic about vesting these powers exclusively in the Provincial Governments. The arrangement which all other federations have accepted as salutary and convenient, may be easily followed by India. The circumstances, out here, do not seem to be so abnormal as to warrant any deviation from the general principle and practice.

In France, we have seen, without the sanction of the central authorities, the budget cannot be put into practice. In Calcutta no such restriction has been placed in the way of the Corporation. A copy of the estimates as passed by the Council, is forwarded to the Government of Bengal only for information. The Government, however, cannot take any action on it. But although in the passing of the budget, the Government cannot poke its nose, the Municipal Act contains a definite provision which gives the Government ample scope for interfering with many undertakings of the municipality. No project that would cost two lakhs and a half of rupees or more can be carried out unless the previous sanction of the Government of Bengal is obtained for the same. And this approval is necessary in spite of the fact that the cost has been included in a Budget Estimate finally adopted by the Corporation. In Bombay no such interference from above has been provided for by Statute. We do not see at all why Calcutta cannot do without this limit to its powers if Bombay can. It is time that

this distrust of the municipal council should be withdrawn and its autonomy frankly welcomed.

In another field, the municipalities, everywhere, have to act under central control. In making by-laws, the city Government has nowhere been given absolute autonomy. They have to be sanctioned by the Central administration. The Indian municipalities, of course, are no exception to this rule. The Governing Acts of the municipalities here grant powers to the cities to make such by-laws.<sup>1</sup> The Calcutta Municipal Act contains a chapter,<sup>2</sup> on this subject. It empowers the Municipal Council to make by-laws in certain well-defined fields of activity. They however are not valid without the approval of the Government of Bengal. And the Government before sanctioning, may modify them.<sup>3</sup>

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

### TO COMING DAY

One star alone glows in the East—one silver light  
To guide the lagging steps of slow, departing Night.  
All wan and pale, with eyes a dream and locks astray,  
She waits the coming of her lord and love, fair Day.  
She lingers veiled in blue, with heart love-spent,  
Amid the dew-crowned roses of the Orient;  
While from afar the watch-bird sounds the réveillé,  
And tens-of-thousands wake to greet the coming Day!  
A hush, a thrill of waiting, an expectance sweet,  
Adown the rosy East is heard Day's springing feet,  
A slow embrace, the lingering of lips aflame,  
And with a sigh, Night passes on the way he came.  
While strong, robust and full of love renewed, young Day  
Mounts swift his golden chariot and rides away.

TERESA STRICKLAND

<sup>1</sup> K. T. Shah and Bahadurji, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> Section 482 of the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923.

## DISCORD AND HARMONY

## I

## HOPE AND FEAR

I know two twins ever at war,  
 The one is Hope the other Fear.  
 The one is sweet as morning sun,  
 The other darkness closely spun.  
 When one goes out the other 's in  
 Thus with wheel of life they spin—  
 Man's Hope in God leaves Fear behind  
 While Fear of God brings Hope to mind  
 But sweet on Love's maternal breast  
 The twins are ever in joyous rest.

## II

## DESIRES AT WAR

O whence desires are shot in me,  
 Where are archer and his bow?  
 They rend my heart, they drive my limbs,  
 They whirl my brain—fast, slow—  
 On test some die, some live and work,  
 Some raise disgust, some joy,  
 O endless are their freaks and pranks—  
 Some abort, some nev'r cloy.  
 They come and go like waves on sea  
 They are mine, I theirs not be.  
 O Love, on my plunge in Thee,  
 They all are one in Thee and me.

## III

## THOU AND I

O when I feel that Thou art I—  
What 's in my heart, O Lord!  
Am I the mighty lord of all  
Or naught away from God?  
Thou art I be, I 'm not and yet  
Thou, Lord, art what Thou art.  
The love wherewith I love myself.  
Is Thine at end and start,  
Unlov'd or loved what I called I  
—Is cry of empty heart.  
The cry 's lost in Love Thou art  
—Dumb voice and mind all still;  
Void, void what all call all  
Alone the void Thou fill!

## IV

## LOVE AND I

Whenever, Love, I think of Thee  
In darkness hidest Thou,  
O, blow me out that I may live  
As Love for ever and now!

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

## REGENERATION OF RURAL BENGAL

In the two previous sections of this study regarding rural Bengal it has been seen (1) that the decline set in there about the second half of the nineteenth century on account of the socio-economic revolution which accompanied the consolidation of the British rule, and which was the inevitable consequence of a wider outlook of life as well as of its changed circumstances brought about by the contact with the European civilisation; and (2) that the attempts, that have ever since been made, to stay the decline of rural Bengal or to reconstruct it, have failed, on the whole, to achieve the purpose in view, on account either of the insufficiency of resources or of the ill-considered plans or of their inefficient execution.

In this section an attempt will be made to continue the study further to examine the plans, and the utterances of the eminent workers in this direction, and then to venture humble suggestions for the most efficacious treatment for diseased rural Bengal.

The causes of the decline of rural Bengal have been found to be physical as well as social which again may be subdivided as economic and administrative. These causes are of course interacting on one another and their conjoint cumulative effects have been the ruin of the Bengal villages. But of all the causes the physical one—that affecting the soil and the climate—is the most potent as well as difficult to tackle.

Malaria has led to the desertion of rural Bengal more than anything else. Experts have differed and are still differing in their diagnosis of it, but the prognosis is certain and that is the ruin of the Malaria-stricken area unless the poison can be eradicated. Mosquito-killing, jungle-cutting, curtain-using and propaganda work have not killed Malaria, and will not kill it in the near future. Supply of good drinking water is essentially



necessary for the health of rural Bengal and distribution of quinine is helpful to that end. But none of these will rehabilitate rural Bengal by removing Malaria. "Malaria cannot be successfully combated by the distribution of quinine and the mosquito nets." "...neither quinine nor anti-mosquito measures will restore declining agriculture...or check depopulation...in many parts of Bengal. In this case a much more fundamental remedy is required"—Bentley. The cause lies deeper and in the very land and atmosphere, and unless radical steps be taken in the land itself all other attempts are bound to be futile.

"... The embanking of the country...was marked by the simultaneous occurrence of appalling epidemics of Malaria...and the progressive depopulation of the affected areas."—Bentley, p. 20.

"... The earliest epidemics of Malaria reported in Bengal were in that (Jessore) district...associated with the construction of a road."—Bentley, p. 27.

"In...1878...a similar outbreak occurred when the Grand Trunk Road...was being made."—Bentley, p. 30.

"The occurrence of outbreaks of Malaria in association with construction of embankments has never been disputed, and the observation in regard to the sudden increase of the spleen index in the neighbourhood of these embankments is conclusive."—Bentley, p. 37.

Obstructions to the drainage system are the cause of Malaria and the cure lies in removing them. This lay opinion is supported by the analysis of a number of experts, and from time to time emphasis has been laid on this fact of the physical environment of rural Bengal.

In 1863 Raja Digambar Mitra quoted instances of the breaking out of Malaria along with the construction of embankments and roads. In 1874 the Commissioner of the Presidency Division suggested the same thing, but no effective step on a commensurate scale has yet been taken. The future benefactor of Bengal, be he a benevolent administrator, a public-spirited

patriot or a kind-hearted philanthrop, will have to make the idea of efficient drainage or removal of all obstructions to it an accomplished fact. The consensus of opinion and experience has been that the appearance of Malaria not only in Bengal but also in other parts of India has been synchronous with the advent of railway lines and other obstructions to the natural drainage. It is a Bengali adage that "he who really sleeps can be awakened but he who feigns sleeping cannot be," and those who lay stress on jungle-cutting should have known that the notoriously Malaria-stricken sandy high lands of the Arambagh Sub-division in the Hughli District are singularly free from rank growth of shrubs, and those who want to seek for the cause of Malaria anywhere else than in the obstruction of the natural drainage may profitably take note of the fact that while on one side of the Damodar bund enlarged spleen is an inevitable limb of the human anatomy on the other side of the river it is an untoward incident.

"To prevent deltaic areas...becoming malarious, the integrity of the rivers and small water channels must be maintained, their respective spill areas preserved and normal inundation encouraged. Above all, the erection of embankments of any kind, whether for railway or road communications or for other purposes must be absolutely prohibited."—Bentley, p. 66.

Extract from the report of Mr. Pellew, Collector of Hughli, in connection with the Census of 1872, may also be elucidating, regarding the relation of the floods to malaria.

"It is a remarkable fact that the sickness which has afflicted the district during the last twelve years has clung most tenaciously to the villages on the banks of the Julka, the Kana Nudi and the Kana Damodar...which were formerly supplied with full streams of water from the Damodar but now consist, even in the rains, of pools of nearly stagnant water." Similar opinion has been very recently expressed with particular emphasis by Mr. Wilcocks, an Egyptian expert, in course of a speech in the British Indian Association.

Other supposed causes, like the over-population, poverty, the unhealthy habit of the people, have been put forward from time to time before the public, but, the general consensus of opinion from the time of the earliest enquiry regarding the epidemic, as well as all scientific investigation, has been in favour of the theory of the obstruction of the natural drainage as the cause of malaria.

Overpopulation may be the direct cause of epidemics like cholera, small-pox and similar other contagious diseases but if the scientific view about the malarial parasite is accepted the over-population theory must fall. In many of the most populous parts of the United Provinces there is no malaria. The over-population in Bengal existed long before the outbreak of the epidemic which was synchronous with the opening of the railway lines, and effective prevention of floods. The Dacca division is now one of the most populous divisions of Bengal and yet there is no Malaria to be compared with the miasma in West Bengal.

The Poverty theory seems to be equally untenable. The masses of Bengal were undoubtedly poorer in the past than at present though they are still very poor. Thanks to the production of jute and the all-round rise in the prices of the agricultural products, 75 per cent. of the Bengal villagers are now better off than their forefathers. The general Indian opinion about the poverty of the Indian people, more or less endorsed by European as well as official opinion, is very often misunderstood. The Indian masses are surely poorer in comparison with similar classes in Europe or America and possibly so in comparison with the people of some Asiatic countries. But at the same time they of the present generation surely command more wealth resources than their ancestors commanded in the immediately previous generations up to the middle of the nineteenth century. The progressive facility for communication and transportation, the increased demand for the Indian produces in the world market, the advent of the new and profitable crops like jute and potato, the new avenues of employment in the newly

established industries, all these have undoubtedly affected favourably the position of the Indian masses in the last few decades. The Indian labouring population can surely command more food, better shelter and clothings than their ancestors could ever dream of. The import statistics of goods consumed by the masses—the cheap fashionable clothings, corrugated iron sheets, etc., as well as the increased investments in the P. O. Savings Banks are good indices for comparison. It is true that on account of the development of certain deplorable habits the better economic position of the masses is not commensurately bettering them in health and general prosperity. It may also be urged in refuting the poverty theory of malaria that the poorer people of the healthy districts of the Santal Parganas and parts of the Bankura district are singularly free from Malaria. It may be true that poverty stands in the way of the cure of malarial disease as well as lessens the resisting power against the poison, but it is surely not an original cause.

The habit of the people of Bengal villages is much cleaner and in accord with the principles of sanitation than in many other parts of India, and the Bengalees living in flooded areas are free from Malaria.

The theory of obstruction of the water-ways must be accepted as the primary and the most powerful cause of Malaria.

The remedy therefore must be sought in the re-opening of the water-ways by dredging the pools and streams, by providing for regulated floods and an extensive system of culverts. For any sincere motive to drive away Malaria the above methods are indispensable and so long as they are not accepted sincerely and boldly, any scheme for the regeneration of rural Bengal, and any expenditure towards it in the palliative way, will be so much loss of money.

This brings us to the fact that particular localities may have particular pressing problems, but generally speaking improvement of rural Bengal means steps primarily regarding Land.

I. *Land*.—Land is for man and man can modify it much. The worst enemy of rural Bengal, Malaria, is due to the unwise interference with land by man, and it can only be removed by wise and scientific measures on land. But before that right in land is to be secured to those who are naturally interested in it.

Thus the first step, in order of importance, for the reconstruction of rural Bengal, must be a radical alteration in the land system of the province. The magic of property is to be created in land for those who are in immediate touch with it ; and then land will be improved by investment of sufficient capital, and willing labour. In the opinion of Sir H. Maine, the creation of a peasant-proprietary class in Madras, early in the British rule, has given rise to the most flourishing of cultivators in India. He thinks the experiment of Cornwallis in Bengal as unlucky and remarks, “ A province like Bengal proper.....was the proper field for the creation of a peasant proprietary ”—Village Community, Maine. Peasant-proprietorship elsewhere has turned “ sands of dust into sands of gold ” and nowhere else its success is expected to be greater than in rural Bengal where land is almost the only source of livelihood, pride and credit and where sentimental attachment to *la terra* is phenomenal. For the home-loving Bengalee peasant the *summum bonum* of his worldly prosperity is the unrestricted possession of three acres, a cottage and a pair of bullocks. Give it to him free of all interference, encumbrance and friction of partnership, make him a peasant-proprietor and then in course of a generation jungles will be nowhere, mosquito brigade will be meaningless, agricultural propaganda would be unnecessary, and the sanitary department may be reduced.

The peasant-proprietorship should be equally beneficial towards the organisation of the village system. The serf-like cultivators will feel the air of freedom ; their self-respect as well as thrift will increase along with the sense of complete ownership ; and their capacity to organise themselves will

develop. The declining middle classes suffering from chronic unemployment will be attracted to the village to help the organisation and the village will be as flourishing as they were formerly. It is true that a *Bhadralok* cannot flourish on three acres only but he may be allowed to cumulate his farm to 30 acres which ought to be sufficient for the economic necessity of a middle class family living and investing enough capital in a healthy village where he will reside and supervise his agricultural farm.

- Thus the creation of peasant-proprietorship will go a great way towards the solution of the rural problems of Bengal. It will cause the flow of necessary capital, intellect and interest for the improvement of the village. The human as well as the material factor for the village improvement will be ready at hand. Organisation will evolve automatically and with some wise initiation and assistance from the state the rural organism will develop to be fully self-supporting in course of a reasonable period and the problem will be finally solved.

The greatest obstacle in the way of the realisation of the peasant-proprietorship in Bengal seems to be the Permanent Settlement. But on examination this obstacle may be found to be more apparent than real. Leaving aside the moral and even the legal aspect of the pledge of 1793, it may be possible, without in any way infringing the covenant, to make the desirable alteration in the land-tenure as indicated above. The Irish Land Act may be accepted as the model and the acquisition of the fullest property on land may be encouraged and facilitated by the Government through financial and legislative help. The Land Acquisition Act may be easily modified to include a clause indicating that acquisition for creating a peasant-property is to further public good; and whenever a peasant will deposit half the value of the plot which he occupies for cultivation, the other half of the value will be advanced by the Government as loan to be repaid with necessary interest in course of a fixed period. Such an encouragement will make the peasant thrifty

and its success will be a salutary example for many. The land hunger is so great in Bengal and the pride of its possession is so strong that most of the villagers will be imbued with the spirit of sacrifice of their present enjoyment for the future good to themselves as well as their descendants. Again it will not be beyond the means of many cultivators to deposit the necessary half of the value of his land for transferring it into a freehold from a lease-hold. The value of a bigha of land generally varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 50 in many districts of Bengal and there the peasant will have to advance Rs. 50 to Rs. 25 for its acquisition and he will save annually in rent from Rs. 5 to Rs. 2-8-0 or in 10 years his capital expenditure will be recouped to himself and if he can pay his contribution to the Government loan in similar instalments he will be a free-holding peasant-proprietor at the end of that period.

It may be necessary to give the peasant as much latitude as possible in respect of acquisition. He may be allowed to acquire the right piece-meal in the *jote* and not to deposit the money for the whole *jote* at a time. There is no harm to the Zemindar and the spirit of the present law is not obstructive to such a method of acquiring land for social good.

Much is made about the habit of incurring debts by the peasant and about the land falling into the hands of money-lenders. Loans are necessary to peasants for capitalistic and other purposes, and unless the supply of these loans are undertaken by some other agency, or the co-operative credit society they are to go to the *mahajan* and are surely to pay for his assistance. Thus it is merely a question of demand and supply and no talk or law, to put uneconomical obstructions in the way of the economic harmony in this respect, will be economically good for the parties concerned. But it is surely undesirable from the points of view we are discussing here that the peasants' land should fall into the hands of the middleman which will in the long run frustrate the attempt to create peasant-proprietorship. The difficulty does not seem to be insuperable and if a

law be passed, something like what exists in Burma, against accumulation of an estate of more than 30 acres, then the purpose of securing the desired object may be served, and at the same time the necessary borrowing credit of the peasant will not be obstructed.

This theme regarding the creation of the peasant-property should not be concluded without reference to the middle classes or the *Bhadralok* class of Bengal. At one time they were the finest specimen of social man in Bengal and perhaps throughout India. It was the Bengalee intellectuals that first came in touch with the British culture and they could take the fullest advantage of that. In education, in literature, in social reform, in awakening political consciousness, the epoch-making names of modern India are to be found mostly among this class of Bengalee *Bhadraloks* who or whose ancestors belonged to the village. Raja Rammohan Roy, Ramgopal Ghose, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshabchandra Sen, Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Dwarkanath Mitter, Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari, Ramkrishna Paramhansa and their names are legions. It may be a wonder that in course of a comparatively short period the Bengal villages could contribute so many stalwarts to the army of social progress for the Indian people. The reason may be found in the physical as well as social environment of these leaders or their ancestors. Born in families fully cultured in the prevalent lores and languages, nourished with plenty of good food and unimpeachable traditions of politeness and family dignity, held in high esteem as leaders and protectors by the surrounding masses, with rights and privileges as well as with duties of "noblesse oblige," the scions of these ancient rural families could not but acquit themselves very creditably as the leaders of the new and wider sphere of action and thought that was opened to them suddenly on the advent of the British regime in the province. But now, alas, as a class the *Bhadraloks* of Bengal have lost all their social position, their economic prosperity and, worst of all, their family traditions. Landless an



unemployed, a rabble of an ever-increasing motley group of starving clerks, a miserable specimen of humanity without any sense of duty and dignity, the targets of daily insult at the hands of every one from the up-country fruit-seller at the Burra-bazar to the railway cooly at the Howrah Station, dishonestly negotiating for a pice with the tramway conductor, many of them are to be found everywhere leading a life of penury and drudgery, indignity and hopelessness. Their social position is being daily challenged by the lower classes, their traditional field of employments is being occupied by others through competition, and they no longer can claim monopoly of wisdom or intellectuality.

But this is not all. The new literate intellectual class, that has grown up thus, by the coming in of the new men in the fold of the old *Bhadralok* class of Bengal, who have entered there through their energy and worthiness, is in the same predicament as their earlier compatriots, or will be so in course of a generation or two, through the same causes—unemployment and landlessness, and costly *Bhadralok* style of living.

In the interest of rural development the *Bhadrals* of Bengal are to be reinstated in their lost or forsaken land through the creation of peasant proprietorship. Their past tradition of land-owning pride and their present distressful unemployment may be wisely handled for this purpose.

The *Bhadrals'* needs are surely more extensive and more costly than those of an ordinary cultivator, but simple living and high thinking will surely be possible for him in his village residence if his farm may be allowed to cumulate to 30 acres of cultivable land, with absolute rights of ownership on it. In addition to such farming if he can earn a supplementary income in the nearest station of business or administrative headquarters by working there as a daily passenger, he will develop into a rural gentleman of means and mental excellence—leading a contented and peaceful life, and being helpful to his environment as well as to the state as a good citizen, as his ancestor in the fifties of the last century was.

Thus in the interest of rural Bengal peasant proprietorship in land is essentially necessary. To prevent any possible frustration of the policy through the improvidence of the peasants and greed and dishonesty of the money-lenders and other designing predatory people, and for attracting the *Bhadraloks* to their deserted villages—the size of a farm with peasant proprietorship should be allowed to grow up to 30 acres and no more.

Dr. Bentley in his excellent book on the relation between Malaria and agriculture has shown that the spread of malarial epidemics and the deterioration of agriculture in the Bengal districts have been found to be synchronous and are related mutually as cause and effect. "...Simultaneous occurrence of appalling epidemics of Malaria, a serious decline of agriculture, and the progressive decline of the affected areas" (Bentley, p. 20). "...Since the flushing has been prevented, agriculture, health and prosperity have suffered, millions of lives have been sacrificed, thousands of millions of rupees have been lost, the people are sunk in poverty, and a vast proportion of them suffer each year from recurring attacks of Malaria" (Bentley, p. 47). Creation of peasant proprietorship no doubt will give a vigorous push to agricultural industry and now the moment seems to be particularly opportune for such an action. The state is bent upon encouraging agriculture, the middle class unemployed are wistfully turning their eyes to land as the ultimate possible source of their relief and the leaders of thought in the country are troubling their brains over the question of the proper utilisation of the land resources as the most fruitful agent of production in India.

Under the circumstances the peasant proprietorship is sure to succeed in improving agriculture and rehabilitating rural Bengal. It will create interest in land and agriculture on the part of the intellectual classes ; it will cause the flow of money in the villages and investment of capital in land ; it will help the organisation and co-operation in the village life by giving the villagers back their natural leaders.

And everything that is required for the reconstruction automatically will come from the creation of peasant proprietorship which will be the magic wand for the speedy improvement of rural Bengal. On the creation of the system the surplus wealth of the village will cease to go elsewhere, the extraneous agent provocateur will cease to have opportunity to provoke petty disputes and ruinous litigation; and the wily and uneducated village worthy will cease to have his baneful influence on village politics. The internal resources—human as well as material—will be sufficient to make the Bengal village, again, beautiful, healthy and full of life. There cannot be any doubt that with the improvement of agriculture which means clearance of marshes and jungles, town-like compact living, active occupation of the land throughout the whole area, increase of population, and resources for subsistence as well as other necessities for health and efficiency, the insanitary causes of Malaria will be less effective.

So the primary measures required for the improvement of rural Bengal are to be taken in connection with land. The most important of these measures should be the creation of Peasant Proprietorship.

(b) The other measure that is to be taken with regard to the land in the Malarial Zone particularly is to counteract the baneful effects of the obstruction to natural drainage. Engineering skill has done wonders in the world even in ancient times, and it is quite feasible to find out ways for necessary drainage and flooding of the malarial areas and preservation of the railway lines and the other roadways. "The Government of a country devastated by the disease must conduct its campaign against the enemy under the generalship of the engineer and the agriculturist, rather than of the sanitary commissioner and the medical scientist"—Bentley, p. 67.

"We must look to large irrigation projects and the increasing supply as well as the regulation of surface water for the final solution of the problem of Bengal Malaria"—Bentley, p. 156.

In these days, no one can gainsay the benefits of railway communication, and its extension is surely necessary and desirable in the interests, economic as well as social, of the rural areas as of the urban. The civilising effects of the railways in this country have been rapid and wonderful, and opening of a new line has been invariably followed by the economic and social prosperity of the masses in its vicinity. The roadways too are a very necessary factor for village improvement. Villages with good communication are in a comparatively flourishing condition, more populous and better organised through the frequent sojourns of the intellectual classes than the other localities of similar potentiality. The anti-malarial, the co-operative and other sorts of village-improving societies are most to be found in the villages in the vicinity of the railway station or easily approachable from such stations through metalled roads. In these days of cheap motor transportation, good roads would be invaluable assets for village reconstruction. Thus the communication is to be maintained and extended. But surely their known evil effects are to be counteracted.

From the experience of what has been done in the railway conclaves at Bandel and Belur and the municipal areas of Chinsura and Serampur, it is easy to understand that Malaria can be eradicated in spite of the railways and roads if sufficient care and caution are taken to fight it out.

A comprehensive scheme is to be made, a bold policy is to be declared, and enough money is to be found for counteracting the evil effects of railway extension and road extension. A part of the revenue of the railway should be earmarked for this purpose, the road-less fund should be utilised, a new tax may be imposed which will have greater justification than the proposed primary education tax or charka subsidy proposed by some District Boards in their patriotic simplicity.

The Bonification scheme has been found to be eminently successful here and elsewhere recently and in remote times.

“The admission of the Damudar water in the Kana nadi in 1873-74 and 1875 was followed by an immediate and marked amelioration in health.” Dr. Bentley who is all praise over it has attested to the comparatively favourable health of the places in the vicinity of the Dankuni Khal in the notoriously malarious Hughli district, to the good results of the Jangipur and the Banka Valley schemes. “Covering with water is Nature’s own method...To this end a small scheme has been carried out at Jangipur and another...in the Burdwan district. The effect... at Jangipur is spoken of favourably by the local people.” He has not worked out the cost but it may be presumed that the cost would not be prohibitive and should not be grudged in the true interest of the people.

There is a sanitary improvement act, I understand, which should be modified if necessary and should be taken the fullest advantage of. Areas should be selected by looking into the present populousness, communication, facility, land-fertility, industrial possibility, and social opportunity. One or more such areas should be taken up for carrying vigorous village reconstructing activities in them. A Rural Improvement Trust should be created on the line of the Calcutta Improvement Trust.

Unfortunately however for the Malaria-stricken areas of Bengal, much misdirection of energy and funds has taken place; and instead of taking steps for the final and absolute eradication of Malaria, mere palliatives and, at the least, partially effective measures have been resorted to. Recently, the Government has initiated a scheme for rural sanitation under which a large number of sanitary inspectors is to be employed for fighting the enemy. The cost of the scheme is annually 12 lacs. It may be doubted that with the best intentions the state is entering on a costly work which may ultimately prove ineffective. Temporary suffering may be endured for ultimate and radical cure, and the Malaria-stricken area which has suffered so long may agree to suffer some time more for the

higher end of the final deliverance of their land from the grip of the malarial monster.

It follows from the above discussion that (1) the creation of the magic of property in land and (2) restoration of the natural drainage must be the foundation stones of any village reconstruction programme. For the first the practical step is Peasant Proprietorship and for the second Bonification. If these two measures are taken vigorously, with exclusive attention and all the scattered resources of the state available for rural improvement pooled together, and single-minded earnestness of the officials, of the patriots, the philanthropists and the public, the primary condition for the rehabilitation of the Bengal village will be realised.

The other necessary conditions will follow in the wake of these. From the examples of Madhupur, Deoghar and many other sanitariums of Bengal it may be asserted that money will flow, brain will be reinstalled into the village, and societies—co-operative, anti-malarial and other similar associations—will be automatically organised in no time; and the outsiders or the state will no longer have to puzzle their heads.

It may be interesting to note in this connection that many of the old roads have altogether disappeared through their gradual occupation for the purpose of cultivation by the unscrupulous village husbandmen; and ultimately have been assessed by the zemindar to increase his ever increasing rent roll. As it is to the interest of the Zemindar he or his man never interferes with this pilfering way of annihilating the ancient village roads. Toynbee, p. 105. "In 1796 the Court of Circuit called the attention of the Governor General.....to the serious encroachments made by Zemindars and cultivators on the tracks set apart as roads... Hundreds and thousands of bighas of road lands must have disappeared since the above letter was written, and the evil still exists."

At one time the waterways of Bengal were very cheap and good means of communication and transportation. Many of

them have been silted up by nature and some have been obstructed by human activity. Up till recently this aspect of rural service through re-opening them has been neglected by all.

Sanitary and fertile villages with their natural beauty and physical advantages will in no time develop into modern industrial centres without any extraneous help or propaganda and their material resources will develop sufficiently for progressive civilisation and up-to-date happy life. Raw materials produced in the locality will be utilised there, land impoverishment would be checked through the necessary return of their products after they have been utilised in the local mills, the surplus income will be retained in the locality, necessary capital fund will be created or will flow in it and the interests of the local people themselves will impel them to create or restore local roads and other means of communication. Motor Buses, electric light and electric power stations will bring a revolution in the material surroundings and industrial process in the rural areas. Schools and dispensaries, libraries and amusement houses will spring up without any conscious attempts and the utopian dreams will, as far as possible in this imperfect human world, be realised in rural Bengal.

*(To be continued.)*

A. K. SARKAR

## THE TILAK

From my childhood's sunny days they told me,  
    My good fortune long ago,  
Had been buried in the Charnet valley  
    Of convention : ah ! the glow  
Of my early prime was washed away  
    By sad tears that naught can stay :  
Whisper said a curse was on my forehead  
    Unadorned, and bare, and plain;  
And the blinded world had dedicated  
    Me to widowhood's sad train;  
In the unseen solitudes I pined,  
    Seeking what I could not find :  
Till you crossed my path one dismal morning,  
    And I knew they all had lied :  
Come what may, I shall be glad, adorning  
    Me with unguents of the bride,  
And the ' lucky mark ' upon my forehead,  
    For, my Lord, you are not dead !

CYRIL MODAK



## TWO MAIDS IN BLUE

On lonely cross-roads of a solitude,  
One happy eventide,  
They met : a scheme of strange Infinitude  
Brings fact to Dream's fond side !  
Thro' rustling fancies of Youth's brooding mind  
A care-winged thought took flight,  
It said " You have intruded like the wind  
Upon the haunts of Light !"  
He bowed, let Love and Beauty pass, and then  
Youth sat him on a stone,  
Away from jarring noise and prying men  
To woo a sorrow lone :  
But they had nimbly caught his care-wing'd thought,  
And turned and came to him;  
The air was with rich lotus fragrance fraught  
As o'er it they did skim.  
They looked so sweet in deep-blue raiment clad,  
So queenly and so fair,  
Like faeries starting at an impulse glad  
To charm away despair !  
He rose and plucked two blossoms from the air,  
And met them half-way o'er;  
He set those blossoms in their wavy hair,—  
Hush ! let me sing no more !  
The silent solitude like unstruck lyre  
Vibrated with new joy;  
And every breeze that caught young Love's fresh fire  
Kissed parted lips so coy !

CYRIL MODAK

## CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

*From Herder to Sorokin (1776-1938)*

1915 **Krabbe**, Dutch jurist writing in German : *Die moderne Staatsidee* (The Modern Idea of the State), *Die Lehre der Rechtssouveränität* (The Theory of the Sovereignty of Law), 1906. According to the German jurist **Laband** in *Staatsrecht des deutschen Reichs* (The Law of the State in the German Empire), 1876, the state can require no performance and impose no restraint, can command its subjects in nothing and forbid them in nothing except on the basis of a legal prescription. "This theory of the legal state" (*Rechtsstaat*) is carried forward by **Krabbe** to the furthest logical consequence. He says that "there is only one ruling power, the power of law." The law is not superior and the state not subordinate. But the "authority inherent in the state and the authority of the law are identical." He denies the existence of a sovereign having inherent power and rejects the opposition between public and private law.

The supremacy of "positive law" has been established, says he, step by step ; first, a mere *limitation* of the sovereign authority, then, a *replacement*, although in part, and finally the *exclusion* of all original sovereign authority. A "spiritual" power has taken the place of personal authority. "We no longer live under the dominion of persons, either natural persons or fictitious legal persons, but under the dominion of norms, of spiritual forces." More and more political communities are ruled "not by external powers, but by inner spiritual forces dwelling in men and working out from them."

This sort of "mystical" deification of man's "inner forces" may however be said to introduce a "new" concept

only within certain limitations. For, in one form or another the idea of the majesty of law, custom, "folk-ways" "natural right," is a strong medieval category.<sup>1</sup> Nay, it is an almost universal item, although not the sole item in the political or moral ideology of races in their primitive beginnings such as, at any rate, can be detected in the early literature of mankind.

But this so-called *Rechtsstaat* (the state as a "legal community") theory serves, in any case, to emphasize the enormous amount of "conscious" law-making and the growing number of law-making "organs," councils, boards, committees, "public services," etc., which have become prominent features of social or organized life during the last half a century. It is but to be expected that this "epoch of law" or age of the reign of law should induce a more or less characteristic form of speculation in the relation between law and the sovereignty or law and the state.

It need be observed, however, that, the antithesis between sovereignty and law as posed by Krabbe is essentially nothing but the polarity, absolutism *vs.* democracy, although his language does not make it clear. Indeed there is hardly any dualism between sovereignty and law so far as the different epochs of political speculation or practice are concerned. At any rate, his analysis does not establish this dualism. Instead of concluding that law is encroaching upon or replacing sovereignty, as Krabbe does, one should rather argue on the strength of his premises that the demos is getting used or rehabilitated to the enjoyment of both sovereignty *as well as* law-making. It is the people, the people's control, the people's interests and voice in legislation, the sovereignty of the people that, in spite of Krabbe's terminology, constitute the chief elements in the "modern idea" of the state as explained by himself.

Thus in the place of sovereignty *vs.* law which is ostensibly the thesis of his book what is really established by him is

<sup>1</sup> For the Hindu category of *dharma* (law, justice and duty) and its European counterparts, see Sarkar: *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, Leipzig, 1922.

“popular sovereignty” or democracy as the fundamental feature of “modern” states. The modern state is found to be not only a “legal state” but at the same time a “popular sovereignty state” or a “sovereign people’s state” and many other things as well. “Sovereignty” as such has neither been eliminated in any way, nor replaced by “law” or law-making power, but has been coming more and more into the hands of the masses. As a “category” of thinking, law is as old as sovereignty. The modernness consists in the fact that each is being impregnated with new “contents.” “Sovereignty” as well as “law” are both being transferred to the “people” (community, *civitas*) from the powers that be, and both are being “groupified,” “decentralized” and what not.

• As for the nature and validity or “binding force of law” Krabbe is of course fundamentally idealistic. “The spiritual nature of man” is his starting-point. In his social psychology the *Rechtsgefueghl* (feeling for right)—including as its less developed form, the *Rechstinstinkt* (instinct for right) and its more developed form, the *Rechtsbewusstsein* (sense or consciousness of right), is as effective among men as the moral, the aesthetic and the religious sense, as well as love and friendship. It is a “universal human impulse.” It is upon this natural mental faculty,—this feeling for right,—that all law,—positive, customary or unwritten—is said to be based. Now the sense of right is intrinsically a power which creates “obligations,” says he. Law is thus “essentially a moral force,”—an ethical concept implying, as one should think, nothing short of the categorical imperative” of **Kant**.

But the “phenomena” of the actual world do not avoid Krabbe’s grasp. He moves away from the rigidity of Kant’s system and understands the limitations of the “sense of right.” “Owing to the influence of numerous factors both material and ideal and because of an imperfect insight into the nature of the interests to be evaluated by law” he declares that the “sense of right may be different now from what it formally

was" and vary also in different individuals "under the pressure of divergent experiences and interests." The sense of right is thus conceded to the "more or less imperfect." The idea of these relativities and imperfections brings Krabbe's concept of law into line with Neo-Kantianism, *i. e.*, fundamental idealism such as is tempered with the sense of the objective and the utilitarian and hence shorn of the absolutist and universalistic validity. It is as Neo-Kantian that he accepts *Stammeler's* adage in *Die Lehre vom dem richtigen Rechte*, "the Theory of Just Law" (1902), namely, that all positive law is but an "attempt" at just law. Practice, according to him, must have to be satisfied with legal systems such as are based on the defective sense of right.<sup>1</sup>

The sense of the objective is very apparent in Krabbe's analysis of interests, law-making, development of law, decentralizations in law-making, administrative decentralization, etc., none of which is undertaken with strong doses of metaphysics. And in these items his position is undoubtedly "modern" and constructive. Indeed hardly any reference to the "feeling for right" is required.

He begins his study with the announcement that his "conclusions are directed especially against those of German political science." It is certainly questionable if there is anything in the world of thought known as "German political science." But Krabbe's book shows at any rate that it makes use of certain German ideas in order to combat certain other German ideas. In his own ideology, there is hardly anything un-German.

1916. **Pareto**, Italian: *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (Treatise of General Sociology). It is unscientific to admit that man is exclusively a rational being. Inconsistency and illogicality are some of the fundamental traits in the make-up

<sup>1</sup> Pound's paper on jurisprudence in *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences* (ed. Barnes), New York, 1924.

of the human mind. It is easy and quite natural for man to commit the worst crimes in the name of the noblest sentiments and under the inspiration of most idealistic catchwords. There is nothing psychologically strange, for instance, in scoundrels posing as patriots and philanthropists. The logic of feeling is as great a reality in the *psyche* as the logic of reason. Its influence perhaps is greater. The influence of passions, emotions, feelings, etc., the influence of the "sub-conscious," the "instincts" and so forth in human conduct are tremendous. And these impulses are not all godly, angelic and benevolent. The devilish, beastly, brutal elements are equally fundamental.

1916. **Myres**, American: *Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science* helps concentrating the attention of scholars on a new and growing aspect of contemporary political philosophy.

• 1916-19. **Croce**, Italian: *Theory and History of Historiography*. History is knowledge of the *eternal present* and as such is identical with philosophy which is always the thought of the *eternal present*. History, properly understood, abolishes the idea of *universal history*. So philosophy, immanent and identical with history, abolishes the idea of a *universal philosophy*, i.e., of a *closed system*. Neither age nor race is universal or permanent. Philosophy of history is as wrong as historical determinism. We recognise the reality of power in the act, and in the shadows the solidity of the ideas, and on earth heaven. Every attainment is the formation of a new prospect, whence we have at every moment the satisfaction of possession and arising from this the dissatisfaction which drives us to seek a new possession. Reality does not stay still but rather is never as the whole in any one of its particularizations, and therefore its true being is just its circular movement, which in its perpetual rotation produces the perpetual increment of itself upon itself, the ever new history. The true conception of progress must fulfil at once

the two opposite conditions, of an attainment at every fresh instant of the true and good, and of raising a doubt at every fresh instant, without however losing what has been attained ; of a perpetual solution and of a perpetually renascent problem demanding a new solution ; it must avoid the two opposite one-sidednesses of an end completely attained and of an end unattainable.

1922. **Seligman**, (1861- ) American: *Economic Interpretation of History*. He analyzes the Marxian doctrine in its logical content and traces its history. His verdict goes against extreme determinism or economic monism (contrast **Loria**, *supra*).

1917. **Maciver**, Canadian: *Community*.

"Some have said that in community all is struggle, others that all is adaptation, some that selfishness rules, others that common interest prevails, some that environment is supreme, others that race is the master of environment, some that economic interest is the primary determinant, and others that the law of population determines economic law." Social science will never advance except by freeing itself from subjection to the methods and formulæ of both physical and biological sciences. Social relations can never be adequately stated in quantitative terms. Militarism has been the enemy of modern social development and on the other hand all social development makes militarism more evil. Socialization and individualization are the two sides of a single process. It is a serious mistake to regard primitive peoples as more socialized than the peoples of civilization. Each form of association has its distinctive place and character which cannot without social loss be usurped by any other association.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR



## A SINGLE ECONOMIC UNIT

*(The Industrial Future of the Empire)*

The outstanding fact in world politics to-day is that the British Empire is slowly becoming aware of itself. The pioneer stage of growth, expansion, of the spade-work of early settlement, is being succeeded by the stage of consolidation. The Empire which was built in haphazard outline and almost without definite intent, is becoming aware of its own strength and potentialities. In Britain and throughout all the great communities enrolled in the British Commonwealth of Nations this process of self-realisation is daily gathering momentum.

From that realisation must evolve, and indeed even now is evolving, a new era of organisation of planned effort, of pre-determined aim to build knowingly after those who build better than they knew. Ties of race and sentiment are strong it is true—as was amply proved in the Great War—but to them must be added ties of organisation, economic bonds of trade and commerce.

The great thing is to understand, to visualise the Empire as a whole. No one has a greater capacity for seeing things in their true perspective, above the clouds of purblind parochialism, than that great British statesman and industrialist, Lord Melchett (Sir Alfred Mond). In two recent speeches he has strikingly defined what our attitude as citizens of the greatest community history has ever known, ought to be.

“It is clear as crystal,” he says, “that unless we succeed in a fairly short time in welding our Empire into an economic whole, we shall see a tendency to economic divergencies which may in time undermine the bonds which hold together our great Empire. Sentiment and goodwill may not indefinitely



keep together far distant developing communities unless there is added to them an economic complex of some kind."

To anyone capable of taking the long far-sighted view, both historically backwards and prophetically forward, it is obvious that the world to-day is adjusting itself into a few huge economic units. This is the parallel on the international scale to what is happening to industry on the national scale, namely, the growth of larger and larger industrial units. We have the practically self-contained trade unit of the United States in the one continent; we have in Europe the undeniable tendency to economic agreement which, if followed to its logical conclusion, must result in the rise of the United Economic States of Europe. Both these units will aim at free trade within their own boundaries, strongly protected by tariff ramparts from outside competition.

To be taken into account also is the rapid industrial development of Asia and the possibility of new trade forces and factors evolving from that continent of cheap and abundant labour.

What, asks Lord Melchett, in the face of these huge economic entities, is the position and the future of Britain and the British Empire? In the first place Britain and her statesmen have got to rid themselves of their obsessions with European politics. Their great and primary task is the organisation and consolidation of their own vast heritage. If that demands the grasping of a new idea or the upsetting of old ones, the sooner they realise it the better.

"England is not part of Europe. England is part of the British Empire," declares Lord Melchett, and he adds, "I have often drawn attention to the danger of turning our eyes to Geneva instead of to Ottawa and to Sydney. Instead of trying to placate a quarrelsome number of people in Europe with whom we have no real concern, we should bind together the great heritage of the Empire."

He cites the example of Canada and the great need there is to keep the population of that mighty Dominion preponderatingly

British. "I have recently returned from Canada," he says, "and the one thing that concerned me in the enormously prosperous development of that great country was that there is already a growing alien population—Poles, Finns, Italians and people from other countries—who have not got the strong sentimental bond of those who have emigrated from Britain. There can be nothing more important at the present time than to bend our energies towards getting more Britons into that country."

This is merely one of the problems in the way of a fully organised Empire. A problem of wider application is that of apathy and lack of imagination. In Britain and in other parts of the Empire people are only too prone to take the narrow local view; they suffer from the short-sightedness of immediate self-interest. They magnify their own sectional problems and interests and forget that they are citizens of a commonwealth which comprises a quarter of the habitable surface of the globe. In this Britain is as guilty as any other part of the Empire.

"Why," Lord Melchett asks Britain, "should we not, for instance, consider the wheat plains of Canada as part of our own wheatlands. It is merely a question of want of imagination. It is merely because people think too parochially and not sufficiently imperially. After all the sea to-day is not the dividing line. The sea to-day is the cheapest means of transport in the world."

Given a proper organisation of its interior riches and resources the Empire will form a greater trading and industrial unit than anything that exists in the world to-day or has ever existed before. Those resources are too obvious to need the demonstration of figures and statistics. The Empire circles the globe; it is cut by the equator, it abuts towards the poles; all climes, all conditions, all races, creeds and a great share of the natural abundance of the earth come within its orbit. Our pioneering forefathers gave us these; it is for us to organise their legacy with a courage equal to that which went to its building.

This is how Lord Melchett would tackle the problem of organisation :—

“ I believe myself that a conference of big business men in Britain and in the Dominions could work out a scheme of inter-Imperial trade, paying due regard to the aspirations of the Dominions to develop their own industries, but at the same time enabling us all to do a great deal more business than we have ever done before.

“ If we only had the courage to put a tariff ring fence round the Empire there is not a single Free Trader who could oppose such a great extension of the free interchange of goods as that would ultimately promote.”

This is not a new idea but the altered circumstances of a post-war world have given it a totally new importance and urgency. Moreover, it comes from a man who possesses the power of seeing and explaining things in their right perspective. That he should take the long statesmanlike view is perhaps due to his enormous interests and responsibilities, not only national and Imperial, but world-wide.

Lord Melchett's call for a conference of Empire businessmen found an immediate response from Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister of Australia who said he was entirely in accord with the idea as the best approach to a solution of our common economic problems.

Properly organised the Empire will be easily the world's greatest economic group. Nor is she behind in brains, vigour, push and technical ability to develop her resources. She has, moreover, an undisputed reputation for justice, sporting spirit and administrative ability.

What she has lacked so far is a body of men to sit down and work out a scheme for organising all these territories, all these forces and all these resources on constructive lines. The task of organisation, of consolidation, is no less difficult, no less essential than was the pioneering task that laid the foundations.

The task grows easier every day because new, swifter and more effective methods of transport and communication are tending to eliminate the obstacles of space and distance. The importance of the motor car, the aeroplane and the wireless, telegraph and telephone to the British Empire can scarcely be assessed. We have hardly begun to realise a thousandth part of their possibilities and uses. They are like new nerves, veins and arteries connecting up the body of the Empire.

Britain has much to offer the other dominions—all her centuries of commercial experience, her financial traditions, her manufacturing knowledge, skill and methods, and above all her scientific and technical ability, which is second to none in the world. She has everything, in fact, which a wise old mother country can offer, including even capital, because in spite of a general falling off in Britain's investments abroad, the percentage invested in Empire countries has actually increased.

The other dominions are able to offer Britain immense natural resources of raw materials, almost unlimited supplies of foodstuffs and farm products; and also the vigour, enterprise, hopeful outlook and spirit of optimism and endeavour which young organisms naturally possess.

Here then we have a basis of the exchange of mutual benefits on which can be built the greatest economic unit the world has yet seen. Are we to organise for that purpose, or are we through apathy to allow the separate dominions to drift into other economic unions which appear to offer them greater immediate benefits?

To this vital question Lord Melchett provides no uncertain answer :—

“ There never was in the history of the world an economic complex so large in area, so great in population, so furnished with natural resources of all kinds, endowed with all climates, with such a future for development and expansion and with such potentialities for future generations to enjoy. If they are allowed to proceed separately, individually, I have no doubt

divergencies will gradually appear. If linked together in one economic whole they would form a most powerful unit, the most potent instrument for good that the civilised world has ever seen.

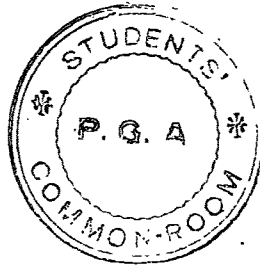
“The idea of a British Empire with no kind of hampering barriers between its members, with a trade secured against the rest of the world and with rationalised industries may seem a fantastic dream and in its entirety may never completely come about. You cannot deny these great countries the desire and wish to develop themselves industrially as well as agriculturally, but I do believe that it is not beyond the bounds of human endeavour to arrive at arrangements between us in which all the resources of the Empire will be used for the best advantage of all, and when arrangements could be made to encourage the production of commodities of the most suitable character by which the increases and developments of old and new industries could be co-ordinated.

“I wish many of the resources which are lacking development to-day owing to want of finance and want of population could be sided and assisted by the mother country. The magnitude and complexities of the problem should not prevent us from going ahead. I have found much more sympathy, understanding as I do the leading men of the dominions, than you would anticipate.

“I think there is a greater feeling of union between us than there ever was. The echoes of the Great War have not yet entirely died out. There are still many millions who remember the great united effort, the great united sacrifice, the great united victory the British Empire achieved. The echoes, however, are becoming dimmer; time will blunt the memories of our great joint enterprise. We have already waited too long; we should not wait any longer. A great conference should be called at the earliest opportunity. Leading men in industry, agriculture and economic life of these countries should investigate and probe this matter to the bottom. If the will is there, as I believe it is, the solution should be found.

“Let us prosecute unceasingly and unselfishly with no feeling for ourselves, but with an earnest wish and an ardent hope that the great heritage which has been handed down to us and for which so many now lie on the fields of Flanders, the rocks of Gallipoli and the burning sands of Mesopotamia, may be handed safely down to their children and their children’s children. Let us hope too, that the British Empire, the greatest instrument of peace the world has ever known, shall continue to grow in strength not only for the benefit of its own inhabitants but for the benefit of the whole human race.”

A. E. TOMLINSON



## THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

In the Introductory Part of this paper on the Philosophy of Shelley an endeavour has been made to set in clear light and historical perspective a large variety of relevant facts calculated to materially help us in properly understanding the genesis and development of Shelley's ideas and ideals, as also the place occupied by him in the thought movement of the West. For the sake of a convenient study of a complex whole, I have considered it necessary to proceed next to arrange his ideas in different groups and under appropriate but separate headings. The essay has, therefore, now to be divided into at least three well-defined parts, of which the first is proposed to be devoted [6] to a somewhat detailed study of his views on politics and 2) society. The second part will deal with his views on ethics and 3) religion, and the third treat of what may be called his meta-physical ideas.

## PART I.

Man differs from the other animals in Aristotle's phrase because of his rationalism and therefore though living with the lower animals in his physical environment, his reaction to that environment fundamentally differs from their relation to it. Then comes the essential differentiating factor of man's social environment consisting mainly of ideas, mental associations, social or community associations and institutions.

In order to establish his suzerainty over these environments man is required to study, analyse, criticise, investigate in a number of ways both physical nature and human society so as to bring forces affecting his life under conscious control and make the best use of all available resources, material and (mental) spiritual.

Therefore, a thorough enquiry, a critical questioning of social customs, usages, rules of conduct, of intellectual beliefs, moral ideas, spiritual conceptions, of all types of institutions and an examination of their very foundations, their character and nature and their sanction or source of authority, is man's birth-right from which nothing can claim to alienate him.

This kind of examination and analysis is presupposed by the possibility of a rational and deliberate plan for effecting needful changes from age to age, from generation to generation if man and human society are to march forward progressively, nay, even if man is to save himself from intellectual and spiritual death through sheer stagnation and inertia. Man has thus to propose to himself seriously the task of a *conscious* self-development by rationally directing the course of human improvement and social amelioration through well-regulated purposeful endeavours.

The most important institutions demanding such an examination and ameliorative effort are chiefly two (excluding, for the present, the Church):—

(1) The state, forms of government, the machinery used for carrying on government and allied questions. This necessitates political thought leading to political science and, when ideas are followed to their remote origin and source, to political philosophy.

(2) Society, social grouping, the needs and difficulties of the *economic* man in his relation to social organisation, social contract or covenant among human aggregates, the family and its authority over the individual, the numerous issues affecting man's social well-being connected with such problems as the right relation between capital and labour, wealth and poverty forcing themselves with insistence on the attention of all classes of reformers—statesmen, moralists, religious teachers and leaders of men possessing a social conscience. These necessitate social reform and



reorganisation or reconstruction leading to social science aiming at the discussion and solution of the social problem.\*

To-day, for example, our greatest and most urgent need is to effect social improvement by means of legislation and organisation of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Temperance movement, housing arrangement, free and compulsory education of the masses, sanitation, etc. I prefer to call it the social movement as distinct from the socialist movement which, as we all know, connotes something more specialised. The overthrow of feudalism by industrial revolution is an outstanding fact in social development of modern man indicating how changed economic conditions mean a changed environment. Pro-  
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The question to which I address myself to-day is to consider Shelley's position in regard to these two fundamental institutions by making a survey of his ideas and ideals regarding them which will constitute *one* of the *three* aspects of what I call Shelley's philosophy.

( I may just note here that these two institutions, in spite of their well-defined spheres of activity and differentiated functions in human economy, are not totally dissociated from each other but, on the contrary, are radically inter-related<sup>1</sup> and interdependent. In man's vast and all-embracing progressive movement towards the ultimate goal of human destiny,<sup>2</sup> through unnumbered stages and phases, socialism is perhaps the economic side corresponding to democracy on the political side, and service to man and god, possibly, the ethical and religious sides of one indivisible whole. ? ?

It has been very appropriately observed "Just as an abstract political or economic man cannot be separated from man in all his interests, so political thought cannot be divorced from science, philosophy, ethics, religion, economic theory, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Daine's "Rights of Man," Part II, Ch. V.

literature, or even from tradition, dogma, prejudice and superstition."<sup>1</sup>

Very briefly stated, the dominant theories regarding the origin of political institutions which Shelley had more or less before his mental vision as a revolutionary radical and Utopian reformer are :—

(a) The theocratic or divine<sup>2</sup> theory which presumes the basis of God's authority for governments and upholds the divine right of kings as supreme lords of their subjects being vicegerents of the Deity on earth. The ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian and Judaic theories are notable examples. A theocratic organisation seems to be indicated by the writings of Homer and Hesiod till oligarchies arose by the 7th century B. C. to be replaced by Tyrants as irresponsible rulers to be driven out by democracy.

(b) The force<sup>3</sup> theory or the "might is right" theory more or less supported by even men like Carlyle, not to speak of the world's Cromwells and Napoleons, Fredericks and Peters, depending on the idea of the right of conquest which ignores the claims to self-determination on the part of weaker and smaller nationalities or minorities. The Greek Sophists lent their support to this theory but they championed individualism and individual scrutiny of foundations of law.

(c) The social contract<sup>4</sup> theory based on assumed voluntary agreement or implied consent of individuals. This idea was first promulgated by Locke, and then elaborated by Rousseau and was used by revolutionary movements in England in 1688 and by America in her War of Independence and the French Revolutionists, because it advocated popular sovereignty and

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Gettel's "History of Political Thought," Ch. I, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Paine's "Rights of Man," Part I. (pp. 14 and 46, Everyman's Library edition), and Godwin's "Political Justice," Book III, Ch. I.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paine's "Rights of Man," Part I (p. 46) and Part II, Ch. II, Ch. IV (p. 191), and Godwin's "Political Justice," Book III, Ch. I.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paine (p. 47) and Godwin, Book III, Ch. II.

justified radical change. Even modern socialism is connected with the *critical* attitude of political thought illustrated by this theory. But its germinal form is foreshadowed in the writings of the Epicureans.

Shelley had little to do with the comparatively modern evolutionary theory which thinks that Governments like other human institutions have in course of time slowly and tentatively grown out of man's needs and desires for law and order and stability and protection of life and property. Its germs, however, may be traced in Aristotle's Politics.

Roughly speaking the two first theories are generally supported by Conservatives and the other two by Liberals? shading off into Radicals. In the hands of political fanatics? these last have led to bloody revolutions, political chaos, anarchy, nihilism, Fenianism and the latter-day Leninism or Bolshevism.?

Born in 1792, Shelley's early years coincide with the first flash of hope promising a glorious dawn of the Revolutionary millennium which successively passed through (a) violent changes supported by great expectations of immediate emancipation and regeneration of suffering, struggling, oppressed humanity roused from age-long supineness, (b) more sober modifications and readjustments dictated by disenchantment and despondency regarding the instant present and (c) lastly, idealistic dazzling visions of a more magnanimous<sup>1</sup> future with its resistless appeal to ardent imaginations fired like Shelley's with the surviving ideal passion for the liberation of humanity rising above the shocks of temporary failure and defeat. ✓

The Environment  
of Shelley.

#### INTIMATE RELATION OF POLITICAL CONDITIONS TO POLITICAL THOUGHT.

Political thought in all countries keeps pace with the actual political surroundings of the people concerned in the particular

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preface to *Revolt of Islam and Hellas* (esp. Chorus).

time or in any given period. Political theories therefore appear and become discussed and are sought to be re-modelled by all thinking men in society, whether they are professed politicians, philosophical thinkers, or even like Shelley great poets. These theories, again, are (a) either meant to explain, uphold and justify the existing order or to analyse, criticise, oppose, (b) modify or even demolish that order in the hope of establishing a new and a better one, more suitable to progressing man's fresh needs, new aspirations, larger hope. (c) Occasionally *ideals* rule the day and imaginative, half-poetic, half-philosophical schemes and pictures are beautifully constructed to stimulate man's imagination and emotion by political speculation, pure and simple, embodied in such noble works as Plato's Republic, Bacon's New Atlantis (1629), More's Utopia (Latin 1516, Eng. Tr.), Harrington's Oceana (1656), and Bellanney's Looking Backward. Shelley was more a political idealist than a political thinker, no doubt, but his political utterances are so complex that a simple formula like this is inadequate in his case.

Shelley, I may add here at the outset, belongs to both the second and the third classes mentioned above, *i.e.*, he is both a political *Radical* and Social Revolutionary and at the same time a poetic Utopian in his socio-political philosophy which is the subject of this part of my thesis. It follows as a corollary that in studying Shelley's politics and sociology (if I may use such expressions) we shall have to confine ourselves to what is called "the subjective phase" in the evolution of the state dealing chiefly with the development of *ideas* concerning the state and individualism in the social organism. Shelley's radical way of thinking which makes him a champion of change which alone can ensure the birth of new ideas and creative principles seldom in favour with conservative philosophers of the school, say, of Burke, and even the later Coleridge, is the source of his lyrical inspiration in such magnificently poetical utterances

as we come across in the first great chorus of his Hellas (1822), the opening stanza of which runs thus :—

“ Worlds on worlds are rolling ever  
 From creation to decay,  
 Like the bubbles on a river,  
 Sparkling, bursting, borne away.  
 But they are still immortal  
 Who, through birth's orient portal  
 And death's dark chasm hurrying to and fro,  
 Clothe their unceasing fight  
 In the brief dust and light  
 Gathered round their chariots as they go;  
 New shapes they still may weave,  
 New gods, new law receive,  
 Bright or dim are they as the robes they last  
 On Death's bare ribs had cast.”

Slightly anticipating the discussion of Shelley's attitude towards religion and in part his metaphysical ideas which will form the other two parts of my thesis, I may here quote from the poet's own note on this chorus where he observes—

(“ As it is the province of the poet to attach himself to those ideas which exalt and ennoble humanity, let him be permitted to have conjectured the condition of that futurity towards which we are all impelled by an unextinguishable thirst for immortality.”)

Though somewhat irrelevant to the immediate topic before us, in as much as Shelley's rational and liberal attitude of mind thus indicated here is applied not to social or political but to metaphysical and religious problems, the extracts (of verse and notes) surely help us in clearly appreciating the trend and tendency of Shelley's thought movement to which I want to invite your attention at the outset. Let me next quote a sentence or two from Lord Houghton's “ Life and Letters of Keats ” (1848) bearing on the political atmosphere of England in 1816.

"At this time," says the writer, "literary criticism had assumed an unusually political complexion. The triumph of the advocates of established rights and enforced order, over all the hopes and dreams that the French Revolution had generated, was complete, and it was accompanied with the insolence of men whose cause had little in it to move the higher impulses of our nature. \* \* Some intolerance was to be forgiven in those who, when conjured in the name of Liberty, could point to the system of Napoleon or in that of Humanity, to the "Reign of Terror." The pious Wordsworth and the politic Southey, who had hailed the day-star with songs of triumph, had fled affrighted from its bloody noon, and few persons of generous temper and honest purpose remained, whose imagination had not been tamed down before the terrible realities, or whose moral sense had not been shocked into despair."

Shelley pre-eminently belonged to these few choice spirits, who, undaunted by the excesses to which the first efforts of men desperate with a wild and extravagant zeal for freedom lead them before wise restraint can regulate a revolutionary movement, remained faithful to the ideal of freedom and progress. The faith of such men remains unshaken in the possibilities of salutary change. They do not accept the psychological theory of men who look upon human nature as an unalterable thing as did Burke who accepted Hume's philosophy which makes the complex phenomenon called human nature the source of the world and of the laws of life as opposed to Descartes' thinking self. All philosophers of "hope" like Shelley believed with Holbach, Helvetius, Priestley, Price, Godwin in the power of reason, opinion, political institutions, social environment and economic circumstances to make of men what they are or shall be. In his note on Hellas, Shelley refers to Byron's Greek servant—"the freedman of a western poet-chief" who held against the mighty Turks "Attica with seven thousand rebels, beating back the Pasha of Negropont"—as one who had given to Byron "the idea of a timid and unenterprising person."

Yet he suddenly evinced this heroism leading Shelley to observe—"It appears that circumstances make men what they are, and that we all contain the germ of a degree of degradation or of greatness whose connection with our character is determined by events." It is on such a faith that the real foundation of the grand idealistic vision of man's infinite perfectibility ultimately rests. ✓

It is this philosophical theory, possibly, which can best account for the incessant endeavours made by Shelley in effecting man's regeneration and securing for him true happiness mainly by diffusion of his ideas and thoughts. In his *Skylark* (1820) (last stanza) and *Ode to West Wind* (1819) (St. V) his firm conviction in the efficacy of this agency is most vehemently urged. Most of his grand illusions regarding the advent of the millennium can be traced to this source. His friend Hogg in describing the origin of Shelley's pamphlet on Atheism very rightly bears testimony to Shelley's "passion for controversial discussion." He never doubted for a moment that even bigotry, intolerance, dogmatism, which he considered to be deep-rooted in man, could be destroyed by simple reason or vigorous argument. The elaborate, however crude, notes on "Queen Mab" strengthen the same conclusion. His almost ludicrous but extremely earnest efforts made in his characteristic spirit of extravagant idealism to convert men into his way of thinking by flinging on passers-by his pamphlets from balconies, or worse still, by floating them on the sea in corked bottles are perfectly in harmony with this very passion for reforming man's nature, credited, with almost childlike simplicity, by Shelley with potentiality of infinite perfection. ✓

Entertaining, possibly, too much of visionary hope as an incorrigible idealist regarding man's potentiality and perfectibility, Shelley ardently  
Education as an agency. adjured Miss Hitchener and passionately argued with the experienced Godwin in his attempt to convince both of them of the usefulness of his programme of work in

regenerating man in general and the Irish people in particular in the year 1812. Education, he was then fully convinced, would eradicate the evil as much as foster and encourage the good and expecting success from the establishment of a "Philanthropic Association" in Ireland he proposed (in his letter to Miss Hitchener of 27th February, 1812) to organise *one* in Wales, corresponding to the Dublin one, with her aid, and then further extend the sphere of his emancipating activities all over England to "*quietly* revolutionize the country." As a good disciple of Paine, he strongly resents the description of the Revolution of 1688 as a *glorious* one, for his "blood boils to think that Sidney's and Hampden's blood was wasted thus" and the "Defenders of Liberty" "were thus sunk so low and thus attempted to arrest the perfectibility of human nature."

We must carefully note here this fundamental difference between Godwin and his disciple. Godwin proposed to rely exclusively on the power of pure and abstract truth to slowly convert the world and was strongly opposed to the formation of political associations.<sup>1</sup> Shelley, it will thus be seen, did not always slavishly follow either Godwin's ideal or his guidance. Godwin's views of man's "perpetual improvement" involves the idea of man's perfectibility<sup>2</sup> but he holds that man will never reach perfection. Let me next address myself to the question of the particular political theories which more or less influenced Shelley's growing mind.

The fundamental idea of a contractual basis of society and Government may be traced back to the Old Testament and to Plato and Aristotle. It also found favour with the Teutonic nations whose *Feudal* system was based on such an idea. It was a powerful weapon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Godwin's "Political Justice," Book IV, Ch. III, for his main objections. *Vide* also Chs. I and V.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Book I, Ch. V.



in the 16th century used for resisting the arbitrary and absolute authority of rulers. In 1594 Hooker gave a bare outline of this doctrine and it was utilised in the English Civil War by the democratic party against the Divine Right theory—till its further final confirmation in the Revolution of 1688 which took its stand on James II's *breach* of the original contract between king and people as its sole justification. In the 18th century its appeal was simply irresistible to the fiery advocates of liberty and individualism who stood in violent opposition to the Absolutism of such political writers as Grotius, Luther, Calvin, Filmer and Hobbes.

Closely allied with this contract theory was the idea of the law of nature—the old Roman *jus naturale* which was sometimes identified with the *jus gentium*. The Stoics even went so far as to identify it with the moral law and the Stoics were the stoutest champions of *individual reason*. If, however, law is interpreted to mean “a rule of conduct (imposed) and enforced by the Sovereign” (as Vinogradoff does) after the manner of Hobbes, it may be marked off from morality which subjects the individual to the dictates of his own conscience and not like law to the collective will of an organised society. The law of nature or of reason is considered by many jurists to imply rules dictated to man by nature and as such obligatory, for all commonwealths (*vide* Vinogradoff's *Commonsense in Law*).

This law of nature found an excellent exponent in Locke.

Law of Nature.

We know how in mediæval times the state of nature, in which men had only primary natural<sup>1</sup> rights, was idealised as a happy idyllic state of innocence, simplicity, peace and happiness which unfortunately became destroyed by *civil* authority. But in the 16th century the opposite view was started which looked upon it as one of utter barbarism full of violence and strife and Hobbes became its exponent. But Hobbes was vigorously attacked by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paine's "Rights of Man," Part I (pp. 44-45).

Rousseau with his now famous clarion call of *Back to Nature* to which Shelley responded with some reservation.

Ideals of individual liberty, freedom of thought and its expression, of democracy, came as a legacy to the modern world from the Greeks through the Teutonic political conceptions of the middle ages. These ideals were intimately connected with the Rousseauistic demand for a return to nature as an ideal condition for human regeneration. Though vehemently opposed by Hume, Burke, Bentham and Kant as thoroughly *unhistorical*, this theory receiving support from Locke and Rousseau proved an irresistible force in the revolutionary creed of free-thinkers in England, America and France.

The advocacy of Absolutism by Filmer and Hobbes produced a reaction against the ideal of despotic rule in politics. Locke initiated a new era of political thought and Hume's *Principles of Morals* showed how ethics and politics must not be set in water-tight compartments. Then came Bolingbroke and Burke with their philosophical conservatism tempered with Whig principles and the French Encyclopaedists had later on their share in the revolutionary principles destined to operate on Priestley, Price, Paine, Godwin and Ogilvie and Spence from whom Hall, Hodgskin and even Owen inherited their political ideas till Coleridge, Wordsworth and Southey in their less mature days became materially affected by the democratic ideas of the Revolutionary era.

The King (at the head of the Executive Government), the Whig Aristocracy (in the Upper House) and even the Church continued yet their domination. The growing power of industrial centres, hardly yet adequately recognised, now came in as a new and a very disturbing factor into the political aspect of English life and society.

Thus a continuous march forward is marked at well-defined stages of progressive political ideas and ideals by (1) the conflict between the Stuart House and the Parliament in the 17th century leading to (2) the struggle between the Crown and the

people at the glorious Revolution of 1688, (3) which in its turn culminated in the clash between the mother country and her American colonies in the 18th century, destined to play an important rôle (4) in the French Revolution with its momentous recoil on English political thought in the last quarter of the 18th and the first of the following century. Rousseau's spirit found a genial soil for fresh growth in the minds of Bentham and his followers.

This extremely brief and rapid survey will easily enable us to understand Shelley's revolutionary political ideas as they are reflected in his *Queen Mab*, *Revolt of Islam*, *Prometheus Unbound* (1812), *Hellas* (1817) and a lot of somewhat occasional pieces mostly belonging to the year 1819 among which mention should be made of—

- (1) England in 1819.
- (2) To the Men of England.
- (3) Two Political Characters in 1819.
- (4) Ode to the Assertors of Liberty.
- (5) Lines Written During the Castlereagh (Tory-aristocratic) Administration.
- (6) "On the Fall of Bonaparte" (1815) and the better-known "Masque of Anarchy" (inspired by the notorious Peterloo Massacre or Manchester Massacre of 16th August, 1819, in which the King's Hussars charged ferociously / the Parliamentary Reform meeting wounding 70 and killing 6 men).

To this group belongs also the Aristophanic drama, full of bitter satire and moral indignation at the scandals of the royal household (court life of Queen Caroline and George IV), "Swellfoot the Tyrant" (1820).

Peter Bell the Third (1819), though mainly an attack on Wordsworth's dull and prosy, half-clerical writings, owes its satirical vein chiefly to Wordsworth's political apostacy referred to in the lines "To Wordsworth" composed earlier than 1816.

In this connection one should read also Shelley's finest odes (1820) on the theme of liberty, *viz.*, (1) Ode to Liberty (prompted by Spanish revolt against Bourbon despotism of Ferdinand VII in 1816-19), (2) Ode to Naples (occasioned by the Neapolitan rising against the Bourbon Ferdinand set up by the Congress of Vienna under the influence of the reactionary Austrian diplomat Metternich who was bent upon establishing his ideal of law and order on the basis of the sacred rights of legitimate monarchs upheld by the Holy Alliance), and (3) a short poem called "Liberty" (1820) written under the influence of the fervour created in Shelley by the news of the rising of Spain against despotism (revived by the Bourbon monarch Ferdinand VII, restored to his last throne after Napoleon's downfall only to overthrow the Spanish patriots' constitution of 1812).

No student of Shelley's poetry of revolt, rebellion, or as I prefer to call it, of *freedom* in all its aspects and influence on man's social, political, moral and even truly religious life, can afford to pass over, far less ignore, the poet's significant and representative utterances embodied in the poems just mentioned as these furnish us with a valuable body of ideas and thoughts that go to make up Shelley's socio-political philosophy. Anything like even a bare summary of these poems is impossible within the limits I have to impose on myself. I simply indicate here the sources of Shelley's political views and opinions and pass on to present a very meagre general idea shutting out all details. While indicating such sources I cannot omit at least a mere mention of some of Shelley's prose writings embodying the *practical*<sup>1</sup> application of most of the ideas that lend their irresistible driving force to the Shelleyan idealistic vision of emancipated and regenerated humanity. Be it remembered that almost all great masters of verse have also been good writers of prose at any rate in modern times. One critic rightly points

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Letters to Hunt.

out that "Shelley's political pamphlets are weighty and sententious to a wonderful degree, considering the age at which they were written."

I rest content here with a bare list :—

- (1) An address to the Irish People (1812).
- (2) Proposals for an Association (1812).
- (3) Declaration of Rights (containing 31 articles as against 17 mentioned by the French National Assembly as basis of the New Constitution of 1789).
- (4) Proposal for putting Reform to the Vote (1817).
- (5) An Address to the People on the Death of the Princess Charlotte (1817). [This pamphlet was not published by Shelley but only 20 copies were printed. Rodd's reprint is of 1843 or so.]
- (6) Government by Juries (Collected from Shelley Papers in 1833).
- (7) A Letter to Lord Ellenborough (Lord Chief Justice, 1802-1818) from Lynmouth (1812).
- (8) His Letters to, for instance, Leigh Hunt, Godwin, Southey, Medwin, Hogg and Peacock (1812 to 1822).
- (9) Essay on the Literature, Arts and Manners of the Athenians (a fragment).
- (10) On the Punishment of Death, the Assassin, Speculations on Morals (Collected in 1840).

Another evidence of practical wisdom in matters political is given by Shelley who is usually dismissed by his adverse critics as a mere visionary in his letter to Leigh Hunt (dated University College, Oxford, 2nd March, 1811, when Shelley was yet in his teens) in which after offering his sincere and warm congratulations to Hunt, on the occasion of the triumph achieved over the coercive measures adopted by the government supported by Lord Ellenborough, to suppress criticisms of its savagery in administering military floggings, Shelley proposes for Hunt's consideration "a scheme of mutual safety, and mutual indemni-

fication for men of public spirit and principle" and the formation of a "methodical society which should be organised so as to resist the coalition of the enemies of liberty, which at present renders any expression of opinion on matters of policy dangerous to individuals." We are reminded of Burke's valuable advice that it is necessary for good men to organize themselves when bad men combine. Professor Dowden<sup>1</sup> makes a valuable comment on this letter of Shelley which contains a reference to *Illuminism* that probably Shelley had read in Abbé Borruel's "Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme" about the Society of Illuminists "for the defence and propagation of free thought and revolutionary principles."

Louis Cazamian in showing the connection between the French Revolution and English Literature shows how the movement of ideas leading to the Revolution of 1789 can be traced in part to English influences while, on the other hand, it can be established that Rousseau and the French "philosophers" left their mark on England. In the last two decades of the 18th century a deeper and keener interest was felt by all persons everywhere in Europe in social and political problems. He rightly observes that "From 1789 to 1815 the drift of European literature and thought is in certain respects determined in relation to France whose stormy fate promotes amongst governments, nations and writers diverse reactions of sympathy, fear and hostility." If "from 1730 England gave to France even more than she received from her" it is, still more true that after 1770 it was England's turn to be more extensively and deeply influenced by the new ideas of the Revolutionary movement. To quote M. Cazamian—"France is the pole of attraction or repulsion around which English intellectual life, in a large measure, tends to group itself during that period" (1789-1815). There is, as we all recognise, a line of cleavage between the first and the second group of romantic writers roughly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, I. 112, quoted by Ingpen in Vol. I, p. 50, Footnote.

divided by Napoleon's downfall in 1815. The earlier writers, though at first temporarily carried away by enthusiasm due to the promise of Revolutionary movement, were repelled by the Reign of Terror and the Consulate and on the whole created and shared the reaction against the Revolutionary ideal. Then came after 1815 the reaction of growing liberalism against this Tory reaction itself and "the offensive waged by agitators and philosophers alike against an oligarchic regime" became fiercer than ever and the "second generation of Romanticists breathes a spirit of moral revolt," refusing to recognise any prestige in tradition itself and it "receives the heritage of revolutionary thought," linking up "the impassioned intensity of its psychological tone with ideas of liberty and rebellion, with a keen determination to secure independence and realise justice." \* \* "Thus Romanticism becomes a literature of social conflict . . . . attracts to its banners the zealous and the young, but without provoking the hostility of the average man."

[Cazamian's History of English Literature, Vol. II (1660-1914), 1927:]

*(To be continued)*

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE



## Reviews

**"Indian Finance in the Days of the Company"**—By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.) Published for the University of Calcutta by Macmillan & Co., Limited. 1928, pp. 392 ; price 12s. 6d.

This book is a very able and synthetic sketch of a vast and intricate subject packed into 380 large-printed pages without missing any of its essentials. There is no field of investigation more neglected than these early days of the British Rule in this country. The present study would prove highly useful to those who wish to make a more intensive kind of study of banking, currency, finance, tariffs, taxation, and Imperial defence. Undoubtedly it would very soon stimulate students of economic history to undertake fresh labours in this neglected field of investigation. Even economists of other countries would undoubtedly derive great benefit from a study of this publication for it presents a mass of historical materials which can be turned to some advantage by them. To understand the present one needs to know the past. The present study enables the reader to have an accurate idea of the past undertaken without any political bias. Research students would feel highly obliged for this monumental study of our financial organisation during the course of roughly a century and a half.

One sole consideration that has to be borne in mind by the reader is that this financial organisation was still sporadic and embryonic throughout the whole of this period and has undoubtedly created difficulties which have been very deftly overcome by the author. The endeavour throughout appears to be to present concrete facts. No unwarranted and abstract generalisations have been made use of in effecting the synthesis. Personalities responsible for the evolution of the most prominent financial features are also left completely in the background with the result that the inter-relationship of the concrete facts has been lucidly brought out. A mass of facts which have long remained unutilised on account of their being scattered in various sources have now been made available and accessible to students of scientific research.

Commencing from the very beginning of the Company's administrative role which began in 1765 the gradual ways by which the British Parliament began to exercise its authority in the matter of Indian Finance are pointed out in Chaps. I and II. But until 1834 there was no uniformity,



consistency and effective co-operation of all the settlements in matters of their common defence, finance and internal economy. Under such circumstances each settlement was, taken up in turn and the details of each settlements' financial organisation are assiduously compiled.

With the severance of the trading functions by 1833 the East India Company became an administrative body pure and simple and was forced to pay adequate heed to the interests of the governed, when it was found out that the system was effete, the Charter was not renewed for the usual 20 years' period. The Sepoy Mutiny however sealed its fate. Though some sort of financial order was enforced on the East India Company's accounts by 1793 Charter no clean cut difference existed between the political branch of the Company's affairs and the Commercial one. In spite of suggested improvements by 1813 Charter nothing was carried out and the system of keeping accounts was not free from confusion "even at the time of 1832-33. For instance the investment was often made out of territorial revenues" up till 1813-14. This tended not only to confuse political issues but made currency confusion still worse. Treasury notes, and later Treasury bills, were issued to rectify the evils to a great extent. But nothing definite could be accomplished till the development of the export trade brought in precious metals into the country. The banks also could hope to do and actually did some service in this direction. Attention is next drawn to the machinery of the financial administration and its defects. The expenditure on Navy was a "reserved" item on which even the Government of India had no voice. Details of revenue administration, and the formation of the Board of Revenue Administration in Bengal are next related. But in the absence of annual financial statements, this task must have been an undoubtedly difficult one and he is entitled to special praise for the intelligent manner in which he has worked up such incomplete, diverse and diffused materials into a readable consecutive whole. There was a total lack of effective control over the Provincial bodies even after 1833. Expenditure itself was consequently uncontrolled. There was no finance minister, no budget statements, no regular financial policy outlined and carried out.

Chapter III is devoted to deficits and surpluses. A clear historical account of income and expenditure of the E. I. Company is presented and his treatment of the public debt is one of the best in the book.

The financial resources next engage the attention of the author. The major sources of revenue like the land revenue, and revenue from salt, opium, customs, Abkari, stamp duty, the pilgrim tax and the minor ones like the Sair, and the moturfa and the income arising out of the post

office are all referred to. The simplicity, absence of variety, unjust incidence of taxation, and inefficient tax-gathering were all due, as the author rightly says, to a "lack of touch with the feelings of the people and an insufficient regard for their vital interests."

Civil expenses form the next topic. General Administration attracts his attention. Details of pay and other emoluments since the beginning of the Company's rule to the Mutiny days are minutely traced. Clive's attempt to clean "the Augean Stables," Lord Cornwallis' purification of the services, the costly nature of the European civil covenanted servants, the Europeanisation of the services under Lord Wellesley, the extensive employment of Indians by Lord William Bentinck, are referred to. Ecclesiastical, medical and educational charges were all included under civil and political charges. It is natural that an eminent educationist of his stamp would pay detailed attention to educational expenditure. Expenditure in England familiarly known as the "Home Charges" is next analysed but the author dismisses in a tactful manner the further discussion of this hackneyed subject.

Last but not least important is the military expenditure which easily furnishes the key to the understanding of the Company's general policy. Commencing with a brief history of the growth of the army in India he relates the different units of the army and the cavalry and their organisation. The gradual exclusion of the Indians from the higher posts of the army necessitated the employment of costly European soldiers. When wars increased, the military expenditure became formidable enough to eat away all the revenues. Even "investment" had to be given up sometimes. This subject is again systematically treated without any gaps and marine charges also do not escape his attention. After an altogether interesting survey he dismisses the whole subject by an almost flashing remark that "the history of the growth of military and naval expenditure in India not merely furnishes the key to the financial policy of the East India Company but also brings prominently to our notice the acquisitive instinct of an ambitious people."

There are roughly ten appendices containing statistical details illustrative of the remarks made in the different chapters of the book.

The present publication, covering as it does an extraordinarily wide field, is a remarkably successful treatment of the subject which has found no historian since Romesh Chunder Dutt first took up the work about a quarter of a century ago. In many respects we find a balanced treatment of the subject and the wealth of the new material he has gathered would surely give rise to numerous historical studies. His strict economy of

language undoubtedly enables the reader, without being tired, to have a strong interest in the subject. Now that Imperial defence, law, justice, taxation, civil administration are all living problems, they will give an interest to this history so well and fascinatingly told by the author that mere academic curiosity would never impart.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

**Ram-Sita. (The Ramayana in Verse).** By A. Christina Albers; 1927. Published by the Book Company Ltd., Calcutta. pp. ii+148.

This gifted poet has already made a name in serious poetry by contributing poems on Indian subjects and her poem on Swami Vivekananda deserves a place in all popular anthologies. In the book under review she has taken up the Hindu, or for that matter, Indian tradition and re-told the story of Ram and Sita—a theme which will let it be prophesied with confidence, be never worn out. Experience has proved beyond doubt the great usefulness of the Indian Epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—from the point of view of education and all who ransack these inexhaustible treasure houses should accordingly be welcomed without hesitation.

The remarks made in the foreword, however, seem to be faulty. The book cannot claim to be the first "English metrical version of the Ramayana," in view of the splendid rendering of the story by Griffiths in the latter part of the nineteenth century. An attempt has also been made at symbolical interpretation, both in a historical and a metaphorical sense, but it may be suggested that it would have been much better to leave the story as it is and let it tell its own tale without comments and criticism—for these have been advanced at considerable lengths. Moreover, it may be straining one's imagination too much to deduce from the Epic that Science was far advanced in those far-off days, that "the navigation of the air was an accomplished fact," that "Indrajit possessed secrets still unknown to modern research"; statements like these will hardly bear the sobering touch of criticism. It is difficult to theorise in this manner on the descriptive passages set forth in these Indian epics and to state that truth and imagination mingle here together in such fashion as to be capable of being shifted from each other; the effort is prompted by the best of intentions but the step is perilously near to absurdity.

Passing now to the poem itself, it is a disappointing performance. We have had occasion, in the pages of the Calcutta Review, to express our admiration for the verses of the poet, their melody and diction and

thought, but the lapses in the present volume are very much to be regretted. These are chronic in the matter of punctuation; hyphens, not to speak of diacritic marks, are conspicuous by their absence and expressions like "Lay bare his heart and asked of them advice!" (the last but one line, page 6) are obviously due to haste. It may be added that many of the lines would have considerably improved by a revision; though at the same time the poet occasionally rises to a high level of artistic excellence, specially in the prologue, the epilogue and the lyrical sketches interspersed. All these reveal power both of imagination and expression and leave us therefore with a hankering after a greater degree of perfection than we find here attained.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

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**Studies in Vedantism.** By Mahendranath Sarcar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit College; Published by the Oxford University Press. This interesting book, which is the result of real research and extensive and deep learning, is a valuable contribution to the Vedantic literature and it will sustain the reputation which Dr. Sarcar has won by the publication of his first production—"The System of Vedantic Thought and Culture" in 1925. He has put together here a mass of information from different Vedantic schools yet unexplored and unknown to many, and has made it accessible to Western readers in a most systematic manner. The book will be of extraordinary value to those who like to study the doctrines of the various schools of Vedantic thought in a single handy volume. Dr. Sarcar may be held to be a pioneer in this particular field of research.

No brief analysis of the book is possible, nor can adequate justice be done in a short review to all the topics dealt with in a specialised study and we have to rest content with a rapid survey of the salient points. The work is divided into seven chapters; each of these divisions gives ample evidence of the great critical power and extensive reading of the author.

The first chapter begins with a brilliant exposition of the controversy on the indeterminate and determinate cognition or in other words the static and dynamic character of knowledge. Thought, according to Sankara-Vedanta, presupposes absolute consciousness for its illumination which is not innate in thought but acquired. But to Ramanuja, absolute cognition without any determination is not knowledge;—all knowledge is qualified and differentiated. Consciousness relates itself to object and

thus becomes explicit as self cogniser (ज्ञाता). Jiva-Goswami, however, unlike Sankara, does not regard abstract cognition to be a negation of all differences; he accepts two stages, the indeterminate form is involved in the determinate as a basis which is a psychological fact in perception. To Sankara-Vedanta, neither intelligence, nor bliss, is a predicate to the Absolute Being, but is identical with it. The object, to Sankara, is not an integral part of cognition which would destroy its immediate character. It is merely an accident, so that it may or may not reveal an object. The absolute is a conscious expression but not an expressive consciousness. Ramanuja's system is a concrete monism, for the Reality is to him a concrete synthesis supporting finite selves and unconscious matter as parts or moments of its own being (सिद्धिदिशिष्ट) 'Lilā-bibhuti' is the immanent expression of the Absolute through finite selves and nature, and 'Nitya-bibhuti' is its transcendent expression to self and liberated souls;—an undivided integrity uniting both transcendent and immanent expression in itself as a self-expression. But to Sankara, there is no outwardness or inwardness in the self-revelation of Being. The determination of सच्चिदानन्द does not make it concrete, for it does not indicate any attribute, but points to identity and not a unity of attributes. Jiva-Goswami has attempted an improvement by the assertion of swarupa relation between substance and attributes. But can swarupa, which is essence, be conceived to be related to itself?

Their claims to truth in both the systems of Sankara-Vedanta and the Theistic-Vedantism are corroborated by their respective conceptions of the Svakshi-consciousness and the existence of self in the susupti and turiya states. Ramanuja and Baladeva define Svakshi as concrete cognizer which Sankara rejects as not inherent in self-cognition. Though Svakshi originates in association of consciousness with Avidya, still it is not dependent upon Avidya which is a mere accident. Ramanuja maintains the continuity of active cognizer in the state of deep sleep and in turiya—with its concrete synthetic character somewhat dimmed by the influence of sleep; to Sankara it is the transcendent consciousness, in isolation from the active element of Antahkarana.

The second chapter may be described as a continuation of the topic described in the first chapter, in which a comparative estimate of the relations subsisting between *Jiva*, *Prakriti* and *Brahman* generally designated as cit, acit and Isvara is given.

In fact, Philosophy is always confronted with the problem of assimilating the one and the many. Sankara denies the many and asserts the one, Ramanuja makes the many a predicate—viseshana—to the one.

The Madhva-School finds the difficulty in retaining difference in the Absolute, and it institutes *visesha* (विशेषः) the doctrine of specific particular like that of the Vaiseshikas. Accepting infinite differences in Brahma, Madhvites accentuate the integrity of Being. By the introduction of *visesha*, they seem to deny differences, while accepting distinctions, which do not create division in integrity. To Nimbarka Brahma is independently Real, and the Jiva and the Prakriti dependently Real, mutually forming parts in the unity. As Brahma transcends the world, it is different from it; it is also non-different, for it is immanent in Jivas and the Prakriti. His system, Dr. Sarcar observes, is a monism with a pluralistic countenance.

Jiva-Goswami's conception of Jivas and the Prakriti as Swarupa Saktis of Bhagavan gives a monistic appearance to his system. Swarupa Sakti gives a direct support to Jiva, but as Jiva supports maya-sakti, the latter is only indirectly related to Bhagavan. Laying stress upon indirect relation of maya to Brahma, Jiva-Goswami conceives the difficulty of thinking of Prakriti evolution as a transformation of Iswara. The transformation is in maya and not in Iswara. But the synthetic unity is retained by complete subordination of this 'outward' or *bahiranga-sakti*. This is the well-known अचिन्त्यभेदाभेदः ।

Jiva-Goswami attributes all differences to swarupa-sakti and explains them as modifications or *vrittis* of it, through which it is realised. But Baladeva like Madhva introduces his doctrine of *visesha* which substitutes *bheda*. But he does not extend it to Jivas and the Prakriti confining it only to Swarupa-sakti and its modifications.

Ramanuja's system is, as we have said, a concrete monism,—the finite Jivas and the unconscious matter are parts of, and inhere as qualities in, Brahma;—they are qualifications or predicates of the Absolute which embraces them as moments of its own being (स्वगतभेदः). The Absolute is synthetic unity and it admits all these realities as elements in its own being, but in the synthetic totality they lose their individuality as isolated and independent units. Ramanuja's adjectival theory has the advantage of showing the Reality as one existence and of assimilating others to its own being. Dr. Sarcar in his criticism of this adjectival theory of Ramanuja has rightly shown in the fourth chapter that the finite selves which are attributes of the Infinite are only as much real as an attribute, and they would thus lose their true reality;—they have nothing of their own. And the mutations of nature which is regarded as one aspect of Being must affect the whole; but change in Brahma is inconceivable.

The author has also criticised the *bahiranga sakti* of Jiva-goswami

and the doctrine of Madhvite visesha. This critical estimate of the views of some of the Vedantic teachers shows the author's penetrating insight and logical acumen to the best advantage.

The third chapter deals with the important doctrine of causality from different points of view, and also with the doctrine of *Maya*. *Maya* or *Avidya* conceals our consciousness and holds up multiple existences and appearances. In Sankara-system, *Avidya* is the root-cause of the cosmic appearances—objective and subjective. Sankara does not deny the positiveness of appearance, but it is not, to him, the test of truth. The truth or falsity must be determined by the possibility or impossibility of enduring existence *एकस्मिन्नावस्थितोद्यः*. To Ramanuja whatever appears before or forms the object of consciousness is truth. No appearance is quite false, as everything has its proper place in the system of reals. After thus marking out the difference of views in the two systems of Vedantism, the author goes on to carefully state the important theory of illusion or the famous theory of *अव्यासः* as held by the different schools. This portion of the chapter will repay a careful reading.

Brahma in Sankara's theory is Iswara in relation to *Maya*. Iswara is the efficient and *Maya* the material cause; but *Maya* as a separate entity is not a cause. A dynamic unity has been established by Ramanuja and other theistic teachers in place of Sankara's static identity, and in dynamic unity, the identity and the difference play their parts. Identity and causation therefore, are, in their view, not separate laws: Causation makes explicit what is implicit in identity. In Sankara the creative effort which works in nature's plane has no significance in the transcendental plane, although he has offered a creative theory. In the dynamic unity of Ramanuja and others the law of causality holds true in both natural and supernatural planes. In nature's plane it functions as an evolutionary process and in the supernatural as a principle of self-expression in delight. Ramanuja accepts a transmutation of cause-form and its reappearance in effect-form; but Ballava does not insist on transformation. He does not draw a distinction between identity and causation, for causation, to him, is an expression, not so much a transformation. There is no distinction between cause and effect. Strictly speaking, there is no causation, for everything has its existence in the being of God and God is identical with his expression. The dynamic theory—be it transformation or expression—establishes the identity of being in causation. The effectuation is only apparent, it indicates a change of form in transfiguration—it is phenomenal change.

What we have so far stated will enable the reader to understand the nature of the theory of evolution or creation which the author has dealt

with in detail in his fifth chapter. At the close of this chapter, the learned author has introduced, for the first time perhaps before the Western readers, the Vaishnava-conception of Krishna and Radha-Krishna who is the Delight-self and Radha—the expression of Delight. This will prove very interesting reading.

The sixth chapter gives a brief account of the sources of knowledge (प्रमाण) and the last chapter is a study of the idea of Vedantic discipline (साधन) and Realisation (सुक्ति). We would here close our account of the work by presenting to our readers the conception of liberation as taught by the different teachers. In Sankara, the psychological ideality involving the creation of self and not-self in empirical consciousness is to be immersed in the metaphysical self of transcendence—the thought-activity is to be transcended in intuition. To Ramanuja this distinction between the selves does not hold good. The self does no longer feel itself an individual on nature's plane, divided and separated from the infinite life on which it will become utterly dependent and subordinate. It is, however, not a parting with a finite personality. In the finitude of self it feels and enjoys the infinite pulse. It is not a denial, as in Sankara, of the relativity of consciousness but an inclusion and absorption of it in the transcendental unity—a life moving in unison and harmony with it. It is the death of the lower and natural man and the birth of the true self. Sankara accepts two forms of Mukti with or without physical being. The divided consciousness may appear to a Jibanmukta, but it does not assert itself—the relativity of immanent consciousness can have no hold on truth, though its illusory form has an appearance. The world is now a thin shadow—the “object of knowledge is knowledge.” जीवमुक्ति has two types—active and passive. The passive type (like याज्ञवल्क्य) is indifferent to the demands of life; it is lost to the world. The active type (like जनक) has all-widened practical sympathy. This is a life of service, they live for others; in all they find the identity-consciousness. Ramanuja does not support जीवमुक्ति and favours विदेहसुक्ति. It is ब्रह्मसमापत्ति:—Brahma-like-ness. For Vedantic discipline or साधन we refer the reader to the book itself.

The author has the gift of clear exposition and expression; his style is simple and vigorous. The book may be considered authoritative, in view of the masterly treatment of the subject and happy presentation of the different thoughts in Vedantism. It is also well-bound and well printed.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI



**An Introduction to Indian Philosophy:** by Jawala Prosad, M.A., pp. 196. Published by The Indian Press, Allahabad.—This handy little volume is intended to be an Introduction to Indian Philosophy, in a very real sense. Within a space of 148 pages, it seeks to cover the entire ground of Indian Philosophy from the period of the Vedas and the Upanishads to that of the Suddhadvaitins and the Dvaitins. As might be expected, the author presents us only with the bare outlines confining himself strictly to the elucidation of the central doctrines and avoiding the intricacies of discussions and argumentations.

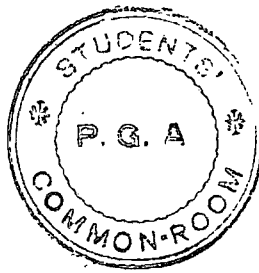
The work consists of six parts. The first four parts deal respectively with Vedic and Upanishadic Philosophy, the Philosophy of the Great Epics and the Bhāgavad gitā, the Doctrines of the Heterodox Schools and the Philosophy of the Orthodox Systems. The fifth part discusses the present position of Indian Philosophy while the sixth part consists of appendices. There is also a General Introduction by Prof. Banade.

Despite some confusions, the presentation is on the whole correct and may very well pass as a clear and concise account of some of the basic principles of Indian Thought. The treatment of the Nyāya and the Vaisesika systems seems however to be somewhat scrappy. The entire omission of the Nyāya-Vaisesika theistic argument is not excusable even in a treatise that professes to be merely introductory. The account of negation given on page 94 also involves an evident confusion. Negation being divided, from the Vaisesika standpoint, first into Universal Negation and Mutual Negation, and the former again being sub-divided into Antecedent, Emergent and Mutual Negation. The omission of Raghunath's name from the list of Nabya Naiyāyikas, as also the absence of all reference to the Vedānta commentators Nunvārka and Valadeva, will also strike the reader as curious. There are also certain passages in the General Introduction which are not quite unexceptionable. For example, the suggestion of a fruitful comparison between Sankara and Hegel and between Ramanuja and Spinoza appears to be extraordinary. The remark that Vedānta Idealism had anticipated Berkeley's "*esse is percipi*" (General Introduction, iv) will also surprise all who have gone through the elaborate refutation of Vijñānavāda in the second Adhyāya of the Brahman sutras.

Notwithstanding these occasional confusions and inaccuracies, it must be admitted that the author has succeeded well in his self-chosen task which is, in his own words, to present a brief outline of "what some of

the important Indian systems of thought have to say on the problems which are ever so close to the human mind." The work is primarily intended for beginners and will, we believe, prove very useful to the B.A. and M.A. students of the Indian Universities.

S. K. M.



## Ourselfes

THE LATE HON'BLE NAWAB BAHADUR SAYED NAWAB  
ALI CHOUDHURY.

By the sudden death on the 17th of April at Darjeeling of the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Sayed Nawab Ali Choudhury, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., Vice-President of the Executive Council, Bengal, the Moslem Community of Bengal has lost an able leader and trusted friend and the Province a courteous and amiable gentleman of the old type that is every day becoming rarer. The Nawab Bahadur was a fine specimen of Moslem culture and won all hearts by his inborn courtesy. He was first appointed an Ordinary Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1911 and reappointed in 1916 and 1921 and was a Fellow of the Faculty of Arts. He became an Ex-Officio Fellow in 1922.

We record our deep sense of an irreparable loss to the country and express our heartfelt sympathy with the bereaved family.

REAPPOINTMENT OF DR. GANESH PRASAD, M.A., D.Sc.

The Government of Bengal has been pleased to sanction the appointment of Dr. Ganesh Prasad as Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics in this University for a further period of 5 years with effect from 21st December, 1928.

• FAREWELL TO DR. NIRANJAN CHAKRABARTI.

A meeting was successfully organised on March last by the Post-Graduate students of the Sanskrit and Pali Departments at which an address was read by his students and a suitable reply given by Dr. Niranjan Chakrabarti, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali, to accord farewell to the Lecturer who had been recently appointed as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy by the Government of India.

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THE DEBENDRANATH HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL  
FOR THE YEAR 1927.

The Debendranath Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1927 has been awarded to Mr. Bimalkumar Bhattacharyya, M.A., on the result of the Competitive Physical Examination conducted by the Students' Welfare Committee.

\* \* \*

THE DEBENDRANATH HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL  
FOR THE YEAR 1928.

• Applications are hereby invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1928.

The competition for the Medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.L., M.E., M.O., and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by the application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed, for the purpose, by the Syndicate.

Such applications from the entrants for the competition must reach the office of the undersigned by the 15th June, 1929.

SENATE HOUSE.

N. SEN,

*Controller of Examinations.*

RESULTS OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW,  
JANUARY, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 666 of whom 442 passed, 138 failed, and 86 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 27 were placed in Class I and 415 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 76·2.

TAGORE LAW PROFESSORS.

On the recommendations made by the Faculty of Law the Syndicate recommends to the Senate that

(1) Professor John Hartman Morgan, M.A., K.C., of London University, be invited to accept appointment as Tagore Law Professor for 1923 and to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on a subject to be selected by the Professor in consultation with the Dean ;

(2) Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I., LL.D., Bar.-at-Law, be invited to accept appointment as Tagore Law Professor, for 1924, and to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on Constitutional Law, with special reference to the British Empire; and

(3) Professor P.H. Winfield, B.A., LL.D., J.P., University Professor in Law, Cambridge University, be invited to accept appointment as Tagore Law Professor for 1928 and to

deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures of the Province on the Law of Torts.

• Appointments for 1923 and 1924 were not made for want of suitable candidates.

#### DATES OF THE M.A. AND M.Sc. EXAMINATIONS, 1929.

The date of the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations has been proposed by the Syndicate to be altered from the 29th July to the 5th August, 1929.

#### DATES OF THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS, 1929.

The date for commencement of the I.E. and B.E. Examinations is the 8th July, 1929; and the last date for submission of marks is the 27th July, 1929.

A LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITIES BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE RECEIVED THROUGH THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BENGAL, TOGETHER WITH A LEAFLET CALLED NOTICE TO PARENTS AND STUDENTS.

DEAR SIR,

A short time ago the Ministry of Agriculture asked us to bring before the Standing Committee of Vice-Chancellors the question of stimulating the teaching of Biological Science in order to improve the supply of biologists for public service in the Empire.

A preliminary conference was held at the Ministry of Agriculture, at which the Standing Committee was represented by Sir Charles Robertson.

Later the matter was discussed fully by members at a meeting of the Standing Committee, and it was suggested that the Ministry of Agriculture should be asked to issue for general circulation a statement indicating the present state of the Agricultural Service and the possibilities of employment at home and abroad for men who take up the study of biology.

I enclose copies of leaflets issued at the suggestion of the Standing Committee of Vice-Chancellors and shall be glad if you will make any use of them which you consider desirable.

Yours faithfully,

T. S. STERLING,

*Asst. Secretary.*

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#### NOTICE TO PARENTS AND STUDENTS

(Opportunities for Students of Biology).

The Government of the countries of the Empire have awakened, especially since the war, to the services that trained biologists can render in increasing the production from agriculture; in particular by combating insect and fungus diseases of crops; breeding improved varieties of crops; improving the yield and quality of crops; breeding improved races of live stock; increasing the output and quality of meat and dairy produce; combating animal diseases; and preventing losses in storage and transport of agricultural produce.

Commercial and other concerns are also making increased use of the services of biologists, notable examples being the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, the Rubber Associations of Malaya and Ceylon and various associations of planters of tropical crops. An increased supply of biologists is also required in the industries of the home countries for full use to be made at home of Imperial resources. Further, resulting from the need for increased biological training, there will come an increased requirement for teachers of biology in secondary schools in this country, especially those who combine Zoology, Botany and Chemistry.

There is consequently a large and growing demand throughout the British Empire for men trained in the biological sciences. This demand

comes alike from the home countries, the big Dominions, and the Colonial Empire (in particular, the tropical colonies). The dearth of men qualified in the biological sciences was a complaint made from all quarters at the recent Imperial Agricultural Research Conference. *The Universities have not hitherto succeeded in satisfying the demand for biologists, and the prospects before able young biologists promise to be very bright for a long time to come, and it is important that parents and boys should recognise this fact.*

This demand shows every sign of growing; an index of growth in this country is given by the tenfold expansion of expenditure on agricultural research since pre-war days.<sup>1</sup> For the Colonies alone in the last 8½ years over 500 biologists have been recruited in addition to some 700 medical officers.<sup>2</sup> A recent survey, confined to directors

<sup>1</sup> The increase in the research and advisory services financed by the Ministry of Agriculture for England and Wales in the last 10 years has been as follows. Experience in Scotland is similar :—

	Present Posts.	Posts 10 years ago.
Directors ... ..	15	9
Chemists (largely biochemists) ...	34	20
Entomologists ... ..	24	11
Helminthologists ... ..	3	1
Mycologists ... ..	24	4
Physicists ... ..	4	1
Pomologists ... ..	7	3
Bacteriologists and Microbiologists ...	17	2
Geneticists ... ..	14	5
Plant Physiologists ... ..	8	3
Animal Physiologists ... ..	5	3
Animal Pathologists ... ..	14	1
	<u>169</u>	<u>63</u>

<sup>2</sup> These posts were as follows :—

Administrative agricultural posts ... ..	140
Other agricultural posts, e. g., produce inspectorships ...	30
Botanists and mycologists ... ..	60
Entomologists (agricultural departments) ... ..	25
Botanists and entomologists (chiefly the latter) for medical, veterinary or game investigations ... ..	30
Forestry officers ... ..	140
Veterinary officers ... ..	90

These figures relate to the non-self governing Dependencies which are administered under the directions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies ; and do not include vacancies in India, the Sudan and various other portions of the Empire which lie within the tropics.



of biological institutes in the Empire and their principal assistants only, showed that 1,200 such research workers were engaged in biological work—plant breeding, plant physiology, horticulture, mycology, entomology, animal breeding and nutrition, animal pathology, dairy bacteriology, etc.,—and this in spite of the fact that most of the countries are now standing on the threshold only of development.

Recently the Empire Marketing Board have entered the field and are making grants for biological work of varied nature in all parts of the Empire.

Salaries in Great Britain range from £300 to £800 per annum, with higher salaries for directors of institutes; in the Colonies they usually range from £500 to £950 or more per annum, and some of the highest appointments carry salaries of £1,200 to £2,000 per annum.

A number of post-graduate scholarships in Great Britain offered by the Departments of Agriculture, the Colonial Office and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation afford excellent opportunities for specialisation and qualification for specialist biological posts. Full particulars of these will be found in a pamphlet, to be obtained, free, from the address below.

The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, as part of its scheme for increasing the supply of trained scientific investigators, awards Maintenance Allowances to properly qualified graduate students to enable them to avail themselves of existing facilities for obtaining training in research in various branches of science, including biology. Particulars of these Allowances and of other awards made by the Department will be found in the pamphlet "Notes on the Grants to Research Workers and Students," published by H. M. Stationery Office, price 2d.

The bulk of the appointments in the Colonial agricultural and forestry services are naturally attractive to the average man with a taste for organisation and an out-of-door life.

Amongst new appointments recently created may be mentioned:—

- (a) Five senior posts on the staff of the East African Agricultural Research Institute at Amani in Tanganyika Territory at £1,000 a year each, for a geneticist, a plant physiologist, a plant pathologist, an entomologist and a soil chemist.
- (b) A plant breeder and an entomologist for Iraq on starting salaries of £800-£900, rising to £1,600 a year.
- (c) An entomologist for Barbados at a salary of £1,000 a year.
- (d) A plant physiologist and plant pathologist for banana research in Trinidad at salaries from £600-£800, rising to £1,000, together with a house.

These were only some of the posts recently vacant, and in spite of the attractive salaries offered it did not prove easy to fill them.

Provided the elementary rules of tropical hygiene are not neglected, life in the tropics now-a-days usually proves to be a healthy one; if a man will lead a reasonable, temperate life, and take a moderate amount of exercise there is no reason why he should not enjoy as good health as at home; and it must not be forgotten that leave or furlough is commonly allowed on a generous scale; that posts are usually pensionable; that in many cases free quarters and medical attendance are provided; and that there is no local Income Tax in the majority of the Colonies.

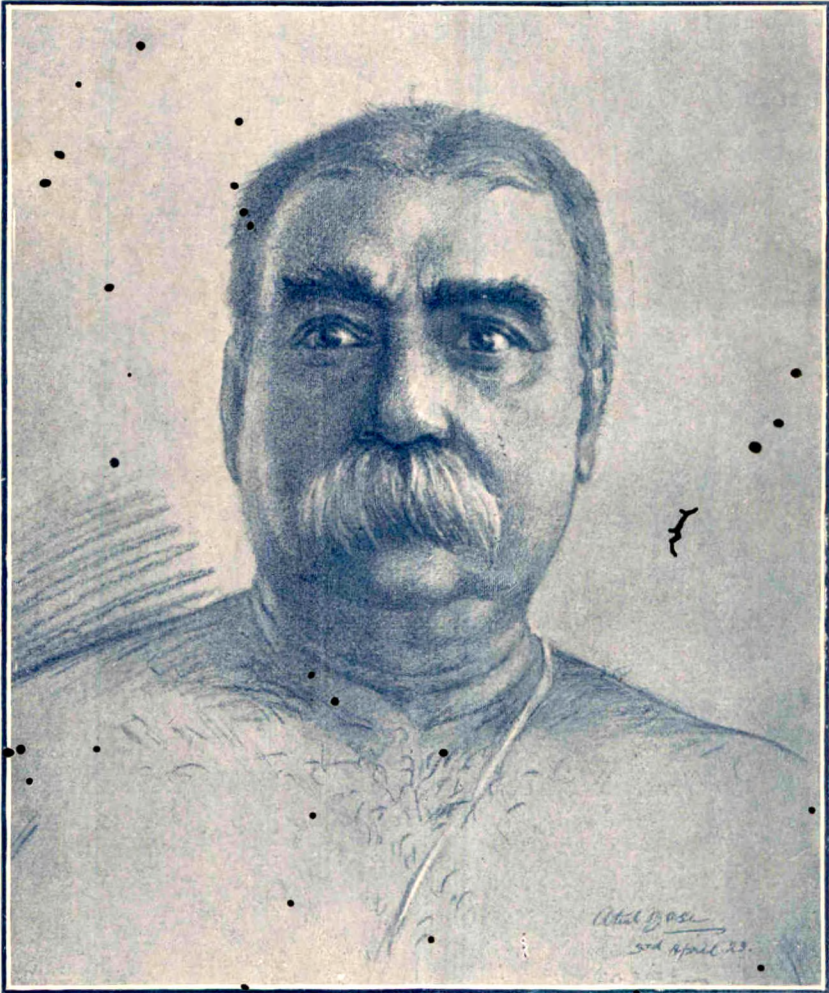
Research work in agriculture does not mean that the worker is shut up all his days in a laboratory; such work will as often as not take the worker into the field or the plantation and should attract those who have inventive genius, who love the pursuit of knowledge and who like their work to be as untrammelled as possible.

The work of a biological advisory officer as envisaged in this country (and there are counterparts in overseas countries) combines an out-door life and intercourse with practical men on the one hand, with laboratory research and co-operation with fellow scientists on the other.

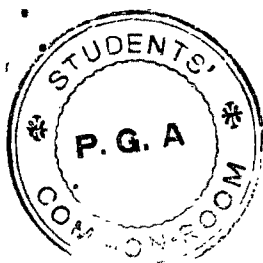
January, 1929.

IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE,  
10, Whitehall Place,  
London, S. W. 1.

The Calcutta Review



"THE BENGAL TIGER"



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1929

## THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN GERMANY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE STUDY OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

### I

“Education is the greatest and most difficult problem that man can have to solve. For understanding depends upon education, and education again depends upon understanding. Therefore education can only be developed gradually and step by step. One generation transmits its experiences and knowledge to the next, and this one again adds its own experiences and so leaves it to the following generation; only in this way a real conception of the right way of education can be reached.”

These words of our great philosopher Immanuel Kant (Works ed. Hartenstein, VIII, 462) characterise aptly the fact that education is a problem that has to be continually worked at, if it is to bring the fruits and blossoms which one hopes to gain by it. This has been the way also in Germany. Since its beginnings it has been altered and changed from time to time to gain its way gradually towards the high goal which the great philosopher of Königsberg has shown it, until an education may be reached, which as Kant says, “develops all natural faculties of man proportionally and efficiently and so leads mankind to its destination” (*ib.*, p. 461).

The beginnings of German education reach back to the times when missionaries fired with holy zeal preached the Gospel to the heathen Germans. To the monasteries there were also schools attached, which in the first line were to educate novices, but in which also children were received to obtain general instruction. Charlemagne had plans to organise education in his vast empire on a great scale. This plan for which the emperor has gained the help of the clergy could not be brought to full realisation, because the turbulent times under his successors barred the way to progress and in many cases even destroyed what had been done. So all education remained confined to the clergy and young noblemen, who learned reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and a little Latin in the monastery schools. Only in the 12th and 13th century when the towns became wealthier and rose in political importance, that the need for education of the towns-people became felt. Beside the clerical schools worldly schools were founded, as the so-called "writing schools." All these schools were of a very low order, as they taught only the most elementary instruction, and the teachers were badly paid and very little respected.

An improvement was brought about by the religious movements of the 15th and 16th centuries. In Germany especially the Reformation has caused a great change in the development of schools. Melanchthon for instance has great merits in the improvement of the existing schools and the foundation of new ones. Joh. Bugenhagen and Joh. Brenz followed in his footsteps. Catholicism did not remain behind Protestantism and founded in the Jesuit Colleges celebrated educational institutions.

Popular schools are the product of the 18th and 19th century. Towards the end of the 17th century the opinion has gained ground that it was the duty of the political governments to take in hand the education of their subjects and to provide schools for all. Several rulers like Friedrich Wilhelm I and Friedrich II of Prussia were very active in this respect by

introducing compulsory education and founding seminaries for teachers. The philanthropic tendencies of the time, as they found their expression in J. J. Rousseau's "Emile," were taken up by Basedow, who established in Dessau his *Philanthropinum*, a sort of standard school, and also by Campe, Salzmann, and others. Pietism also played a great part, headed by Philip Jacob Spener and Hermann August Francke. Popular schools were developed largely by the influence of the writings of the famous Swiss pedagogue Joh. Heinrich Pestalozzi. His method to teach the pupils by personal observation was adopted everywhere. His ideas were furthered by Fichte, Herbart, Benecke, and Fröbel in a theoretical way, by Plamann, Harnisch, Diesterweg and others in a practical way.

In the 19th century compulsory education has been introduced everywhere, so that to-day there is practically no one who can neither read nor write.

The measure of education that the German youth receives and the institutions in which it receives it are naturally very different. The fact that education in the various states and provinces has been developed in so many different ways, hindered a general unity of education. Endeavours, however, have not been wanting to bring about a general union. Already a century ago Süvern made a scheme by which he wanted to create a universal organism from the primary school to the University. His plan did not reach maturity, and also in 1848 when the idea turned up again as one of the demands of the men who sought to establish a political and cultural union of all German states, it was not realised. In our time when by the revolution a new organisation of education has become the demand of powerful political parties, the building up of a "Einheitsschule" could be undertaken. The idea of this school has been expressed in article 146 of the Constitution of Germany, which runs as follows :

"Public education has to be developed organically. Middle and higher education rests upon a fundamental and

universal school for all. For the higher structure the variety of the professions and callings of life, is decisive; for the reception of a child in a special school his abilities and inclinations, not the economical and social standing of his parents nor the faith to which they belong, are decisive."

The aim and purpose of the "Einheitsschule" are to create a common base for the various classes of the population; by this it is hoped to bridge over the gap between the various classes. Whilst formerly children who were to visit later on higher schools, for instance a grammar school, received their primary education in special schools, so-called "Vorschulen"; now according to the new law, all children, may their later education be as it may, must be taught for four years in a "Grundschule," that is a school which gives the foundation for—as its name implies—all further education.

The "Grundschule" has the aim to give to children from the 6th to 10th year during four years an elementary instruction, from which the four upper classes of the popular school as well as the middle and higher schools can start. The branches of instruction comprise home-geography, German, arithmetic, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and for the girls of the 3rd and 4th year, needlework. The self-reliance of the children in games, in observation of nature especially on walks and in handicrafts is to be strengthened in every way for the aim of education. Great liberty is left to the teacher, a strict delineation between the different branches is not kept up, the teacher may go at will from one theme to the other. Home-geography is to be the centre of the instruction, the other branches have to remain subservient to it. Religion also is one of the subjects; the number of lessons has been fixed at three hours a week during the first year, and at four hours for the three following years. From religious instruction children may be freed whose parents or guardians wish it.

The law concerning the "Grundschule" was issued in 1920. It is not necessary to say that it has not yet been

introduced everywhere. The law does not intend to bring about a sudden change from one day to the other, but leaves a time of intervening space, during which the existing schools shall be adapted to the new regimen. How far-reaching the consequences of the introduction of the new "Grundschule" are, you can grasp, if you consider that the preliminary instruction given to children was hitherto totally different. I have already mentioned that children who later on were to attend a grammar school or any other sort of higher schools used to absolve a three-years' course of instruction in a "Vorschule." These have been done away with. All existing preparatory schools for higher education had to be closed, the public ones immediately or by the year 1924-25, the private ones are left till 1929-30, for the sake of the teachers that they may not be suddenly thrown into the streets. Private instruction shall be allowed in future only in special cases. It is forbidden to form special groups of pupils within the school with the aim of preparing them for higher education or to shorten the time of four years allotted to the Grundschule.

As the law concerning the Grundschule has been in operation so short a time we have no experience as regards its future results.

Undoubtedly the ground-school can do a great deal to stop the gulf between the classes, for the democratisation of the people, to bridge over religious and political contrasts. But on the other side we must not forget, that the keeping of children of a highly educated home during four years in such an elementary school is apt to hinder their natural growth. We must also consider that taking up so much time for the rudimentary education may produce the necessity to shorten the time allowed for the higher education from 9 to 3 years; this would mean the lowering of the standard of the higher schools. Therefore it has been proposed to alter the plan for the "Grundschule," in such a way that especially gifted children could pass to the higher schools already after three years' training.



At present, however, the "Grundschule" is to be as proposed. It will depend upon the experiences made whether it is to remain so or not. The fact that in some parts of Germany, as in Southern Germany, in Saxony and in Westphalia, the common popular school has been used to prepare the pupils for the higher schools, shows that it may be possible that this new mode may bring good results. It will be the task of the future to try the school-reform in practice and to modify where it seems necessary.

The ground-school is the common foundation for all other schools. Its regular continuations are the higher classes of the popular school (Volksschule). It embraces the children from the 10th to the 14th year and gives the final preparation for those who at the end of that time enter practical life. About 90% of the German children visit these schools, and they are therefore an important factor in public life. The branches taught are religion, German, history, geography, natural sciences, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and for girls needle-work, eventually also for boys handicraft-work, for girls home-work. Collection of plants and animals, sketching and other such useful and instructive pursuits are encouraged. The character of every province has to be taken into consideration and the love of home is to be furthered in every way. Besides the upper classes of the popular schools the "Mittelschule," i.e., the middle-school, continues the further education of the four years "Grundschule." It brings the pupils in 6 years so far, that they can become artisans, business-men or enter the lower grades of the service of the state or the communities. The middle school is intended to teach practical branches but in a higher degree than the higher classes of the popular school. In these schools also one foreign language, English or French, is taught.

From the middle schools the pupils can go to a middle or higher special technical school (Fachschule); there is also the possibility to pass from them to higher schools.

Great consideration is paid to the training of good teachers. Till now it took place in Prussia in the so-called "Präparandenanstalten" and "Lehrerseminare," Seminaries for teachers, which continued the education of the upper classes of the "Volksschule." This has been completely changed by the new enactment of the Prussian Minister of Education, dated 7th October 1924. According to this the teachers in the popular schools shall be trained in the higher schools up to the final examination; the actual pedagogic education takes place during 2 years in the pedagogical academies. By this a great reform has taken place. This was made easy by the closing of the "Präparandenanstalten" which had been ordered to prohibit the overcrowding of candidates for the teaching profession. The Präparandenanstalten were dissolved in 1921 and 1922. This caused also the end of the seminaries, because their preparation stage was done away with. The first "pedagogical academies" have been opened in 1926. Therefore it is quite impossible to say anything about their success or non-success. Certainly the better training which the popular teachers receive now will raise the whole level of this class, but on the other hand the question may be raised, whether young people who have been trained in the big towns in philosophy and literature will be satisfied later on with the position of a village-schoolmaster.

The higher schools of Germany are very different in every way. In this variety we see the historical development of these schools as well as the tendency to adapt the well-proved traditional forms to the needs of the times.

The oldest form of a higher school is the so-called "Gymnasium" (grammar school). The word with the Greeks meant a public place where men had the opportunity to train their body. Later on in these "gymnasia" also philosophers were propounding their doctrines. The Christian times have taken over the names of antiquity, as gymnasium, lyceum, academy, for the purposes of the study of ancient literature. In the time

of the Humanists the name of "gymnasium" was given also to Latin grammar schools; especially such which went beyond the common aims of education; therefore a number of these have become universities. At a later time the name of "gymnasium" got a special meaning in so far as all schools which trained pupils for the university were called "gymnasia" according to an enactment of 12th October, 1812. The humanistic gymnasium of to-day is absolved in 9 years. The pupils enter the lowest class of the gymnasium, the so-called "Sexta," at 9 or 10 years of age, having passed through the preliminary ground-school. They pass then, if not their laziness or other reasons stopped their regular course, one after the other, the 9 classes, viz., Sexta, Quinta, Quarta, Unter-Tertia, Ober-Tertia, Unter-Secunda, Ober-Secunda, Unter-Prima, Ober-Prima. This course of training, finished with a final examination, the so-called "Abiturienten-Examen," gives the pupil the right to enter the University. The educational ideal of the "Gymnasium" has been taken from the antique; for that reason Latin and Greek are especially cultivated, Latin from Sexta on and Greek from Unter-Tertia on. With the study of these classical languages that of a modern language is joined, generally French, that begins in Quarta. English and Spanish and Hebrew necessary for the future theologians, are taught to those who wish for it. Of late years there is a strong tendency to replace French by English. The other branches of study are religion, German, history, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, drawing, singing and gymnastics.

For the requirements of pupils who do not wish to devote their time entirely to the study of the ancient languages, as it is necessary for many University-studies, in the midst of the 19th century the "Real gymnasium" has been founded. The course of this school lasts for 9 years; the scheme of teaching is about the same as that of the "Gymnasium" from Sexta to Quarta. Then there comes an alteration in so far that Greek is not taught and Latin is reduced in lessons, but another

modern language besides the first one, is added from *Unter-Tertia* on. In some of these French is the first, in others English. Mathematics and natural sciences are more brought into the foreground of the studies.

A third form of the "Gymnasium" is the so-called "Reform-real gymnasium." In this Latin is only taught from *Secunda* on; to the first modern language already six lessons a week are devoted from *Sexta* on; the study of the second follows from *Quarta* on. There classical instruction is still retained in a way, but its ancient dominant part has been taken away from it.

Besides these forms of the Gymnasium there are a number of higher schools of another kind. They do not teach ancient languages and give their time entirely to the modern languages, mathematics and natural sciences. Of schools of this kind the "Ober-realschule" must be named first of all.

The enumerated four kinds of schools were already there before the war; their aim, namely to give a finished instruction is the same, the ways on which they proceed are different and dependent on the various professions and callings the pupils intend to follow. The "Gymnasium" is to train those who wish to study in the University later on, especially theology, law, and philosophy—of course not only these alone—as also pupils who have passed through the Gymnasium may study medicine or sciences or may take up a business-career. The experience has been made again and again that the classical education, however little it may have to do with the profession in life, gives an excellent foundation for everyone. The "Ober-realschule" turns its attention entirely to mathematics and natural sciences. The educational values inherent in them are to be opened to the minds of the pupils. The "Real gymnasium" and the "Reform-real gymnasium" endeavour to steer a middle course between these two. They put the chief stress on the study of English or French. These languages are to introduce the pupils to the culture of these two nations, which swayed the destinies

of Europe with or against Germany, as an intimate knowledge of these two is for us of the greatest importance.

By the last reforms two new types of higher schools have been established besides these four, namely, the so-called "Deutsche Oberschule" and the "Aufbauschule." The "Oberschule," the scheme of studies of which came into force in 1924, intends to give an instruction drawn from the study of German culture, sufficient for enabling the pupil to follow the University courses. German history, literature, art, music, law and so on form the chief branches of this school. Besides these, as our culture can only be really understood in comparison with other cultures, also English and French are taught. The "Aufbauschule" is meant to educate pupils who have passed the whole course of the popular school during seven years; in six years they are led up to the final examination by passing which they gain the same rights as other schools give. The "Aufbauschulen" are especially intended for gifted children of town and village, who want to become teachers later on. They form the missing link between the upper classes of the popular school shortened by one year, and the pedagogical academies. The schemes of studies are the same as those of the "Oberschule" or "Oberrealschule." Whether this kind of school will bring good results, only time can show.

The higher education of girls has been formed in 1908, so that the girls, after having passed through the 3 years' course of the "Verschule," may go to a lyceum, where a course of 7 years awaits them. Of the 4th class of the lyceum, *i.e.*, in the 7th-year, the course of a gymnasium, Realgymnasium or Reformgymnasium could be branched from the 3rd class on; the same could be done with the "Oberrealschule." A special kind of school is the "Oberlyzeum" which was at first intended to be an institution for the education of lady-teachers. The final examination of these schools did not give the same rights as those of the higher boy-schools; it had to be followed by an extra examination. On November 12th, 1918, in Germany the

suffrage for women was proclaimed; in consequence of this a great reform has been prepared in the education of girls. According to this girl-schools form a part in the system of the general unity of schools. Having passed through the ground-school the girl enters the lyceum; after 6 years she is brought so far that she can enter a "Oberlyceum" where after 3 years she passes the examination which gives her the right to go to the university.

For reasons of psychology and pedagogics the co-education of the two sexes has not been introduced; in cases of necessity when gifted girls in small towns have no possibilities to visit a higher girl-school, it is allowed that they can attend a boy-school.

As the review I have given will show you, the diversity of schools is extraordinarily great in Germany. In contrast to institutions in other countries schools deal with a part of the education which is done by the universities in other countries; the young men or the young girls generally leave school at the age of 18 to 20.

In German schools generally boarders are not taken in, but there are of course several institutions where it is done. The oldest such schools were established in Protestant Germany at the time of the Reformation, where former monasteries were used for educational purposes. In Catholic Germany the most important schools of this kind were founded by Jesuits. Later on many of these "Internate," as they are called in Germany, were founded for the preparation for special professions, as for the military career, the theological study, and so on.

The instruction in all higher schools is undertaken by teachers who have received a university education. At the end of their studies they have to pass an examination which is followed by a practical course. In this way it is endeavoured to educate teachers who not only possess the theoretical knowledge but have also practical experience in teaching.

*(To be continued.)*

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

## TRANSFERABILITY OF OCCUPANCY-HOLDINGS IN BENGAL

### I

#### *History.*

One of the essential attributes of property has always been regarded to be the power and right to transfer it according to the will and convenience of the owner. This right is the basis of using property as an instrument of credit. This is specially important in an agricultural country such as India ; because owing to the seasonal character of agricultural operations, indebtedness is a normal and necessary feature of the economic life of an agricultural community.

Mr. Field (later Mr. Justice Field) is of opinion that, " before the period of British Government alienability was not an ordinary incident of immovable property of India ; it has not been an ordinary incident of such property at an early period in any country."<sup>1</sup> It seems rather curious to call the pre-British period of India an early period in Indian history. India had already passed through centuries of civilised government by that time during which her civic institutions had grown and taken shape. What the British administration did was to bring them into definite contractual relationship from the hopeless confusion into which they had fallen during the decay and ruin of the Mogul empire. During the pro-

The Zemindars. longed discussion about the land-system in Bengal which preceded the enactment of the Permanent Settlement, there seems to have been little dispute about the right of the Zemindars to transfer the lands in which they had a

<sup>1</sup> Note on the transferability of Rayati holdings. Appendix I to Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Bengal.

proprietary interest. Mr. Shore, who regarded them as the proprietors of the soil, wrote in his minute of June, 1789: "The privilege of disposing of the land, by sale, or mortgage, is derived from this fundamental right (propriatorship), and was exercised by the Zemindars, before we acquired the Dewany." And again, "The sanction of the Government was often given to sales, mortgages and successions; but the want of it did not, as far as I know, render it invalid." In any case, the Regulation which declared the assessment on land to be permanent also expressly declared the right of the Zemindars to transfer their landed property. Article VIII of Bengal Regulation I of 1793 runs as follows: "That no doubt may be entertained whether proprietors of land are entitled, under the existing regulations to dispose of their estates without the previous sanction of Government. The Governor-General in Council notifies to the Zamindars, independent taluqdars and other actual proprietors of land that they are privileged to transfer to whomsoever they think proper by sale, gift or otherwise, their proprietary rights in the whole or any portion of their respective estates, without applying to Government for its sanction to its transfer, and that all such transfers will be held valid." Thus, so far as the Zemindars are concerned, Art. VIII, of Regulation I of 1793, brought this important incident of proprietary interest in land from the realm of custom and prescription to that of law and contract.

• Later on, as the tenures between the Zemindars and the cultivators, many of which existed long before the Permanent Settlement, gradually began to get legal recognition, and their incidents began to be defined and regulated by Law, express provisions were made declaring them transferable. (Reg. VIII, 1819, and subsequent laws.)

The process of bringing the incidents of land-rights in Bengal into definite legal shape, which began in 1793, continued at various intervals according to the necessities of the



administration and the growing consciousness of the people in the matter. But, it is curious how little attention has been given to this particular feature of land-rights in Bengal, so far as the tenants are concerned. The essential constituent elements of tenant-right have become famous in England and Ireland as the three F's ; fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale. From the beginning of the long drawn land controversy in Bengal, the two connected questions of enhancement and ejectment have received attention and thorough consideration. But the very important question as regards the right of the raiyat to transfer his interest in land had hardly been discussed till the incidents which resulted in the Great Tenancy Act of 1885 brought the question to the forefront.

In his minute of June, 1789, Mr. Shore wrote about the occupancy-raiyats : " But this right (occupancy) does not authorise them to sell or mortgage it (land)." During the Regulations of 1793 which followed, the rights of the raiyats were not adjusted or defined. One of the reasons for this certainly was the extreme complexity of the subject and the inadequate knowledge which the administrators had about the rights and customary privileges of the cultivating classes. The Board of Directors had forbidden any minute inquiry into the affair ; and the Government was afraid that any attempt at definition of raiyati-rights would excite the suspicion in the minds of the Zemindars that the assessment of revenue was not really meant to be permanent. They had also hopes that, if left to themselves, as a result of the Permanent Settlement, the land-rights would adjust themselves.

Perhaps the idea of a transferable tenant-right in land, had been mentioned for the first time in Bengal land-legislation in Sec. 33 of Regulation XI of 1822 which speaks of transferable or hereditary right of occupancy.

Neither Act X of 1859 which has been described as the first modern tenant legislation in Bengal nor Act VIII of 1869

made the right of transferability an ordinary incident of tenant-right in land.

The law as regards occupancy raiyats, who were the most numerous and certainly the most important and privileged class of raiyats, as it stood in 1879, has thus been stated in Article 41 of Mr. Field's Digest of the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Bengal: "A raiyat's holding, not transferable by custom or otherwise, does not become transferable in consequence of the raiyat acquiring a right of occupancy therein."

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"In any case in which a raiyat's holding is transferable, it is not necessary that the transfer should be registered in the *Sheristah* of the landlord."

Like the Permanent Settlement itself (to a great extent), subsequent land-legislation, for a considerable time, was dominated by considerations of revenue on the part of the Government. The relative rights of the Zemindars and the raiyats were considered mainly with reference to the connected questions of enhancements and ejectment. The important question of the right of the raiyat to dispose of his land was hardly ever mentioned in the numerous dissensions or Government Reports. From the singular absence of this consideration, one is inclined to think that the importance of the question was not realised at that period.

But while legislators were indifferent to the question, the economic necessities of the people found expression in a growing custom, which made itself more and more felt as the years passed on. The idea of transferability, which had been recognised and given expression to by law in the case of Zemindari estates and tenures, spread to raiyati holdings. Sales for arrears of rent facilitated the growth of the idea. The consent of the landlord was implied in those sales, but the idea of transfers took root and holdings

Growth of Custom.

came to be sold without such consent. The custom was also helped in its growth by the absence of any rule for registration in the landlord's *Sherista* in case of sales, and the practice of accepting the rent from a third person while it continues nominally in the name of the original holder. In 1879 Mr. Field wrote: "These local customs of transferability have been well established in some estates, and in some parts of the country, while in other parts they are in various stages of formation, and in many places they have not come into even an embryonic existence."<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime things were happening in Bengal, which brought the whole relation of landlord and tenant into the melting-pot. It was becoming more and more apparent that the existing tenancy laws did not adequately meet the needs of the agrarian classes. The law of 1859 and 1869 failed in some material points to protect the cultivators on the one hand, and the Zemindars in the enjoyment of fair and equitable rents on the other. Speaking on the Tenancy Bill in the Governor-General's Council on March 2, 1885, the Honourable Mr. Elbert spoke of the defects of the existing law as follows: "The main defects were two: first, that the existing law gave or appeared to give to the raiyats, rights which he could not prove; and secondly, that the law gave, or professed to give, to the Zemindar remedies which he could not enforce. Whether by reason of any deliberate policy of shifting tenants' holdings, or by reason of local customs of cultivation, or by reason of the absence of any proper landmarks, but at all events, in fact the raiyat was unable to prove that kind of twelve years' occupation which was necessary to give him occupancy-rights, under Act X of 1859. And the Zemindars found the process of recovering their rents through the courts tedious, and the process of enhancement through the courts unworkable." It should be

<sup>1</sup> Inadequacy of existing land-laws.

<sup>1</sup> Note on transferability of raiyati holdings, Appendix I of Digest.

remembered that Bengal Act VIII of 1869, which repealed, where it extended, Act X of 1859, incorporated the substantive law of that Act, with minor exceptions, and was an amendment of procedure and jurisdiction only. Another defect in the existing law was that the legislation of 1859 was not followed by executive proceedings for the formation and maintenance of a record of rights of the various classes which had an interest in land.

When legal rights, in matters which so vitally touched the everyday existence of the people could not be enforced by law, the parties concerned attempted to secure them by extra-legal and sometimes by illegal means. There were illegal exactions and oppressions on the one hand, and refusal to pay legal dues on the other. The Pabna outbreak in 1873 was only a symptom of a disease which had spread all over the system. The necessity of examining the whole relation of landlord and tenant and placing it on a permanent basis came to be generally recognised.

In 1876, Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, proposed to introduce a Bill for putting right the Tenancy question. He proposed among other things to make occupancy-holdings transferable. He made over charge early next year; it was then arranged that the larger amendment should be deferred, and a Bill providing only for the realisation of undisputed arrears introduced at once. When, however, the Bill was introduced in Council, it was found impracticable to limit its scope to procedure only. For one thing, the question of transferability of occupancy-holdings had advanced too far. In 1879, a majority of the Select Committee recommended that the whole subject of the revision of Rent Law should be fairly faced. The proposal was supported by Sir Ashley Eden and in April 1879, the Government of India sanctioned the formation of the now well-known Rent Law Commission.

## II

Since 1793, the Indian Legislature had had to deal with no more important problem than the Bengal Tenancy question in the early 'eighties' of the nineteenth century. Since the formation of the Rent Law Commission to 1885 when the Bill was finally passed into law, all classes in Bengal had taken an unflagging interest in the question. Important interests were in conflict, strong passions had been aroused, and the provisions of the various Bills which had been before the public from time to time had been examined from every point of view. One of the most earnestly contested questions was that of the grant of the right of free transfer to occupancy raiyats.

It may well be pointed out here that the question of transferability had, by this time, come to be confined to the occupancy raiyats, who were certainly the most privileged class of raiyats and were calculated, at that time, to comprise about 90 per cent. of the cultivators.

The question of transferability came to be thoroughly examined from every point of view. But there seems to have been three main features of the question, which predominated its consideration at the hands of the legislature.

(a) Whether the custom of transferability had taken root in Bengal so far as to make it necessary or expedient to give it legal recognition.

(b) Whether it was necessary to give the landlords the right to pre-emption, in order to safeguard his interests in case transferability was made an ordinary incident of occupancy-holdings.

(c) What steps were necessary to obviate the supposed danger of the money-lending class owning the occupancy-rights in case the raiyats were allowed to transfer their interest in land.

The Rent Law Commission submitted their report and a draft Bill in 1880. They recommended that occupancy-holdings

should be freely transferable and the landlords' consent should not be necessary. They wrote: "We have defined (sec. 20), the legal incidents of a right of occupancy;—and first of all, we have declared it transferable by private sale and gift, and divisible by will; and we have enacted that the consent of the landlord shall not be necessary to the validity of any such transfer or devise.....We think it sufficient to say that, having carefully considered the arguments, a majority of us are in favour of transferability." They also declared that "the raiyat's *jumma*, independently of Acts X of 1859 and VIII of 1869, is commonly transferable by custom."<sup>1</sup>

The draft Bill of the Rent Law Commission was submitted to minute scrutiny by the Government as well as by the public. In 1880, Mr. Reynolds, a Secretary to the Government of Bengal and a member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, was placed on special duty in connection with this question. In 1881, the Government of Sir Ashley Eden adopted a revised Bill and submitted it to the Government of India as embodying the mature views of the Government. In this Bill they recommended that occupancy-rights should be transferable, subject to certain restrictions for excluding non-agriculturists from acquiring occupancy-rights. The Government of India in its despatch of March 21, 1882, to the Secretary of State for India intimated its acceptance of the grant to the occupancy-raiyat the right to transfer his holding by sale, gift, mortgage or otherwise, subject, as usual, to certain safeguards. The Secretary of State in his Revenue No. 54 of August 17, 1882, approved of the provisions as regards the free transfer of occupancy-holdings by sale and mortgage, subject to the right of pre-emption by the landlord and on condition that the purchaser should be of the cultivating class.

On March 2, 1883, the Hon'ble Mr. Ilbert, moved for leave to introduce the Bill as framed by the Government of

<sup>1</sup> P. 10, Report of the Rent Law Commission.

India, in the Governor-General's Council. It provided that, subject to a right of pre-emption by the landlord, an occupancy-raiyat's interest in land should be capable of being transferred and bequeathed by will in the same manner, and to the same extent as any other immovable property. Speaking about the proposed right of transferability, he said: "The question

Customs.

whether the right of occupancy should be made by express enactment freely transferable everywhere, as it is at present held to be by custom, throughout a very large portion of the area to which the Bill applies, has been most fully and carefully considered.....

"Looking at the question of transferability next from the point of view of the occupancy-raiyat's interest, the Local Government and the Government of India have come to the conclusion, that in the absence of any evil consequences which have already followed from such transfers, or which may be anticipated as likely to occur in the near future, it would be unwise to oppose the growth of the very strong tendency towards transferability, which the prevailing customs show to exist in rights of this class in almost all parts of the country. The existence of such a tendency indicates—which indeed is clear from other evidence—that those most concerned regard the quality of transferability as an important incident of the right; and it cannot be doubted that the enactment of a law, absolutely forbidding transfer would, even if it saved existing customs, be regarded as a hardship. I may add that, if the custom of transferability is so widely established, as is stated by some very competent authorities, the operation of a law of this sort, would be so limited, as to be of but little importance."

On March 12, the Hon'ble Sir Stuart Baily moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. During the debate which followed, the Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds said about transferability of occupancy-holdings: "It seems probable that the right was not originally transferable; but the custom of

transfer has become common, and it is for the advantage of both parties that the right of transfer should be formally legalised.....The transfers which already occur every year may be counted by thousands."

The Hon'ble Sir Stuart Baily, speaking on the Bill, said in this connection : "In the first place as the Commission have shown, the transferability of occupancy-rights, is, in most parts of the country, an absolute fact. It is stated, then, that the registers of the courts show it to be so, in every district save Saran and Champaran.....moreover, there is ample testimony to the effect that the tendency to recognise occupancy-tenures as transferable is increasing, and the real question was, whether the facts as they stood were to be ignored or recognised."

The President (Governor-General) said in this connection : "The evidence appears to me, I confess, to be overwhelming, that in the greater part of Bengal, the practice of Transfer exists under a custom which the courts have recognised. The Government of Bengal, in one of the papers,—I think, it is the letter of Sir Ashley Eden—says : 'that the weight of opinion received is in favour of recognising in the law what is an almost universal custom of the Province,' that is, the custom of transfer. If it is an almost universal custom in the Province, it is only right that it should be recognised."

The views of the Government of Bengal, was given in No. 972 T. R., dated, September 27, 1883, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Legislative Department. It says that the Lieutenant-Governor agreed with the Famine Commission, that though the right of free transfer was expedient and ultimately almost unavoidable, the immediate course to be adopted by Government must be governed by local custom, recognising it where it had grown up. The letter continues : "The question then which the Lieutenant-Governor has to answer is this : 'Has the custom of free sale of



occupancy-rights attained such a growth and stability throughout these Provinces, that it may now be safely recognised by law ?”

“ Having given the matter his most careful attention the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the weight of argument and fact is in favour of legislation in the direction indicated by the Bill ; and he accordingly would recognise the transferability of the raiyat's occupancy-rights throughout these Provinces.”

Speaking of the supposed evil effects of the right, the letter continues : “ But the Lieutenant-Governor has here to deal with a question, not of theory, but of actual practice. It is not a matter of ‘ introducing a source of temporary prosperity ’ and encouraging an ‘ increase of thriftlessness on the one hand, and of greed on the other,’ but of confirming and recognising a growing custom, to which the needs of the country have spontaneously given birth, and which has, so far, produced no evil results.”

These statements and opinions show a remarkable unanimity on one point ; that the custom of transferring the interest of occupancy-raiyats had already taken deep root in the agrarian economy of Bengal. These are the mature opinions of people who were in the best position to ascertain facts. They had been based upon minute and careful inquiries, and the results of the experience of a great number of impartial, judicial and executive officials, and those who had an interest in the land question.

This conclusion which had been arrived at practically by all those who were really responsible for the Bill and some of whom had made it their special concern, is also supported by the figures of the registration department about sales which actually were taking place at that time. Below are given the figures of sales of occupancy-holdings in Bengal in 1881-82 (by districts).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Report of Registration Department, 1881-82. Quoted in Government of Bengal letter of December 27, 1883.

<i>District.</i>	<i>Number of Transactions.</i>	<i>Purchase Money.</i>
Burdwan	2,361	1,66,422
Bankura	886	53,999
Birbhum	1,667	95,055
Midnapur	4,514	2,69,323
Hugli	1,289	1,23,010
Howrah	330	28,256
24-Parganas	797	2,23,613
Nadia	553	40,204
Jessore	1,319	69,259
Murshidabad	907	51,225
Dinajpore	1,202	1,25,410
Rajshahi	147	10,579
Rangpur	2,285	1,75,825
Bogra	316	17,526
Pabna	364	21,311
Darjeeling	—	—
Jalpaiguri	4	448
Dacca	1,242	70,429
Faridpur	900	41,093
Bakarganj	121	8,361
Maimansing	649	56,588
Tippera	3,046	1,31,817
Chittagong	108	9,372
Noakhali	460	22,931
TOTAL	25,467	18,12,056

These statistics show that in 1881-82, in every district in Bengal except Darjeeling where exceptional conditions prevailed occupancy-rights were extensively sold as a matter of private agreement, and that such transfers involved monetary transactions of considerable amount. It may be remembered that the figures given above do not include those of raiyats at fixed rates, in which case the number of transactions come up to 15,451.

The following is a statement of voluntary sales by registered deed, of occupancy-holdings (not at fixed rates)<sup>1</sup> for the years 1881-84.

	1881-82.	
<i>Name of Division.</i>		<i>Number of Transactions.</i>
Burdwan		11,028
Presidency		3,576
Rajshahi		4,318
Dacca		2,912
Chittagong		3,614
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	25,448
	1882-83.	
Burdwan		13,023
Presidency		5,498
Rajshahi		6,036
Dacca		3,568
Chittagong		4,023
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	34,148
	1883-84.	
Burdwan		14,229
Presidency		5,042
Rajshahi		7,613
Dacca		4,736
Chittagong		6,386
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	38,006

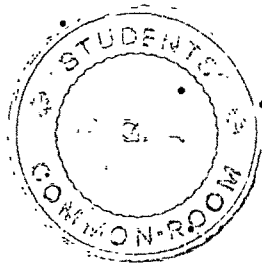
<sup>1</sup> Appendix II, Government of Bengal, No. 1906 T.R., dated September 15, 1884.

Nothing is more remarkable than the progressive increase in the number of transfers year by year, not only in Bengal taken as a whole, but in every division with the solitary exception of the Presidency division in 1883-4.

In face of the undeniable figures of the registration department, it was impossible to deny that sales of occupancy-holdings were common in Bengal. But, at that time, the significance of these figures were challenged in one material aspect. It was said that the Registration office figures did not show whether the landlord's consent had been obtained for the transfers. This objection has been dealt with in Government of Bengal No. 1906 T.-R., dated September 15, 1884, to Government of India. "Further inquiries were therefore necessary. These inquiries have now been made, and, as the Government of India will perceive from the papers submitted, they have resulted in establishing, beyond further dispute, the position for which the Lieutenant-Governor had contended. It can no longer be doubted that wherever throughout these Provinces, the custom of free-sale is well established, there occupancy-rights are bought and sold without interference on the part of the Zamindar. The utmost extent to which interference proceeds is the levy of a fee when the purchaser's name is registered (which it often is not) in the landlord's Sherista."

*(To be continued)*

J. C. GHOSH



# MUSINGS ON A CHINESE FAN

It is the third month  
The time the silkworms come,  
Small, slender points thin as the hairs of a cow.

Young maids of the household with chaste white  
  hands so delicate  
Hold the gold knives that cut the leaves for food  
And with deft fingers spread them on paper around.

From some courtyard tree the gold-bird sings  
And hid throats now in harmony unloose,  
Luring from work the worker.

But mulberry must be picked for many mouths.  
How can we then be idle ?  
Is this not planting time  
When men are all a-field placing rice sprouts,  
And hands for the stripping are few ?

Aye, we must pull the long twigs  
And heap the baskets high,  
Nor take a day for half a morning's work :  
Many the mouths at home that, fearful of cold, await us;  
Even a full year's labor  
We could not begrudge them.

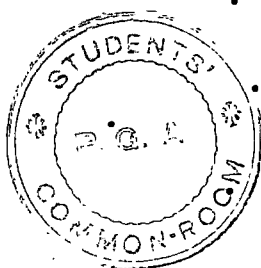
With the fourth month the atmosphere is summer-clear,  
The sleepy silkworms big ;  
High up the head so proud,  
The eyebrow-antennae so delicate.  
Fear not the lack of leaves  
Throughout the wilderness like dark-green smoke they cloud.

In the bright stillness, far voices halloo,  
And in single procession  
Basket-carriers  
Walk slowly off  
And those bearing ladders and poles  
Before the dew is off the grass they must be back  
To feed the hungry mouths.  
This is the woman's task.  
Our hearts must be content  
And concentrate  
During the working years of life.

More girls arrive to help  
And great is the chatter and laughter  
At leaf-picking time.  
Such the fourth moon.

June time.  
Midsummer has come,  
From open lips  
The valley birds pour lilting melody  
Across the fields  
And all the snowy silk-cocoons are built,  
Gossamer spinings,  
Lavishly spilt.

H. M. BRATTER



## THE PRESENT-DAY DOMINION STATUS

Anybody but a political Rip Van Winkle must be watching in the country to-day a great fight that is going on in the arena of political life over the issue of Dominion Status *vs.* Independence. But although so much has been said for and against Dominion Status as the objective of Indian political aspirations yet much loose thinking and loose talk continue to centre round the real import of Dominion Status and an enquiry as to what it exactly stands for would not perhaps come amiss at the present moment.

The object of this paper is to bring out as far as possible within a limited space the true import of Dominion Status in the light of the recommendations of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1926 and in doing so we propose to confine our attention mainly to one broad aspect of it, *viz.*, the growth of autonomy in domestic and external affairs to the exclusion of all meticulous details.

Without going into the historical development of the present-day British Empire we may say that the constitutional position of its component parts or the self-governing dominions with which we are specially concerned here, like the constitution of Great Britain herself, is the product of history. Although the different dominions have got quite different histories, the course of their constitutional development has followed an almost even tenor. Beginning in colonial origins, that is from a state of complete dependence upon the mother-country, they have come to be politically self-conscious nationalities enjoying equal partnership with the one-time '*mother country*' in a loose type of federation called "the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The constitutional relations between the different parts *inter se* and the one-time mother country are only in rough

outlines defined by several Acts of the British Parliament, which serve as the documentary basis of the Dominion constitutions but are in the main to be found in usages and conventions, decisions of the Imperial Conferences (*i.e.*, occasional meetings of representatives of Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire for mutual consultation on matters of common interest), important judicial decisions of Privy Council as well as Dominion High Courts, etc. The present-day British Empire, or to use its more recent designation, the British Commonwealth of Nations is a unique structure, a novel experiment in political organisation constituting a category by itself—neither unitary nor federal—which binds together different nationalities under the ægis of a nation more powerful than the rest by mutual co-operation rather than by centralised control by no other visible bond than common allegiance to a mystic personality, *viz.*, the king, which while giving free play to powers of self-determination so far as their internal affairs are concerned assigns a distinct place to each as one unit in the international comity of nations.

To quote the words of the Balfour Committee—"considered as a whole it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried."

In discussing the true implications of Dominion Status in both internal and external aspects we cannot but draw upon the Report of Inter-Imperial Relations Committee (or shortly the Balfour Committee) appointed by the Imperial Conference, 1926, "to investigate all questions on the agenda affecting Inter-Imperial Relations." For the sake of brevity we shall refer to it in our subsequent discussions simply as the Committee.

Now what is exactly the constitutional status of the Dominions within the Empire? At present we are in a position to give a straight and definite answer in the words of the Committee, "They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, *equal in status*, in no way subordinate one to



another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

On a cursory perusal of the statement an unwary reader may fall victim to some misconceptions. So we are put on our guard by the authors of the Report against these.

I First, one might form an impression that it sought to free the Dominions from any sort of interference from each other as well as Great Britain and thus paved the way for eventual disruption of the Empire, but the true meaning is just the opposite. As they point out, "The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends, essentially if not formally, on *positive ideals*. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects....."

And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, *the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation*, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled." This has made the position quite clear. The British Empire stands for the ideal of unity in diversity. Instead of opening the door for forces of disruption it has made possible closer co-operation. As one writer has put it in the form of an epigram, "till there is full freedom to separate there can be no spontaneous will to remain united." What is meant is that co-operation within the Empire must be perfectly voluntary and not forced and because so it will be offered more readily without the asking. To take a concrete example, if Great Britain declares war against Germany the whole of the Empire would of course be in a state of belligerency as it would be declared after prior consultation with them, but they would not be bound to actively participate in it. All the same it is all but certain that all the different Commonwealths would come forward and gratuitously place their resources at Britain's disposal more willingly than under compulsion.

We fully agree with the Editor of the Round Table that "The Imperial Conference of 1926 has dissolved the Downing Street 'Complex' and the Commonwealth is now, in very truth, a Round Table."

II. A second misconception to be guarded against is the impression that it is a virtual declaration of Independence of the Dominions inasmuch as they are declared equal in status with Great Britain. The authors of the Report have warned against this in the following words: "The principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function." It is not intended that the Dominions shall exercise the same functions as Great Britain in internal and external affairs. Moreover the very fact of common allegiance to the British Crown is significant of their political dependence on Great Britain. Then again, as Prof. Keith has pointed out, Keith "To bring this (sovereign independence) about no mere declaration by an Imperial Conference would avail. International recognition would have to be sought and a formal notification sent to foreign powers by the Imperial Government intimating the grant of independence." He further goes on, "The Dominions still recognise that they are liable at any time to be involved in war by British action and no compact has ever been made that no British declaration of war or peace shall be issued without Dominion assent. The British Government, it is clear, could not consent thus to limit the freedom of action, but, so long as this is the case, it is misleading to talk of complete equality."<sup>1</sup>

Let us now see how far the administrative, legislative and judicial forms have been brought into line with equality of status as understood above. We shall start with domestic affairs. All the self-governing partners of the Commonwealth have got constitutions, created by Acts of the British Parliament of course, conferring full responsible government on the

<sup>1</sup> An article on "Imperial Conference by A. B. Keith, *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Vol. IX, Part I,

British model. The Crown is the titular head of the executive represented locally by a Governor-General who governs through a ministry responsible to the popularly elected local legislature. Previously of course the Governor-General held a different position: he served as the link between the Imperial Government and the Dominion as representing Imperial interests in the Dominion, and served as the channel of communication between any two Governments within the Empire. He was appointed by the Crown on the advice of His Majesty's ministers in London without any reference to the Dominion authorities. These things were hardly in keeping with equality of status. In the opinion of the authors of the Report, "It is an essential consequence of the equality of status existing among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and that *he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or of any Department of that Government.*" They further recommend that "the recognised official channel of communication should be, in future, between Government and Government direct; but as an essential feature of any change or development in the channels of communication, a Governor-General should be supplied with copies of all documents of importance and in general *should be kept as fully informed* as His Majesty the King in Great Britain, of Cabinet business and public affairs." Thus the position of the Governor-General in relation to Dominion Government has been sought to be approximated exactly to that of the Crown *vis-a-vis* the Imperial Government. His appointment is a matter of agreement between the Imperial and Dominion authorities. He is no longer to turn for advice on any matter to Downing street but to his ministers enjoying the confidence of the local legislature. But it is not to be inferred that the

Governor-General has become a political cipher--within constitutional limits he is to play quite an important role in the working of the constitution and is no more a cipher than the king himself. We need not say anything on the position of the Cabinet beyond this that it is merely the prototype of the British Cabinet governed by identical principles and following the same traditions.

We now pass on to the sphere of legislation. Here for a long time past there has been a great deal of divergence between theory and practice. Juridically speaking no question can be raised as to the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, for after all the British Parliament is the only sovereign legislature, in the Empire, the Dominion legislatures being merely non-sovereign law-making bodies. This legislative supremacy is manifested in a number of ways.

✓I. Acts of Dominion Parliaments are sent each year to London for the assent of the Crown, theoretically the Crown has a veto on any piece of Dominion legislation over the head of the Dominion legislature and Governor-General. But as a matter of fact this has long become obsolete and as a rule it is intimated every year through the Secretary of State that "His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his powers of disallowance."

✓II. The practice of reservation by the Governor-General of certain classes of Dominion legislation for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure which is signified on advice tendered by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. The exercise of this power has also become rare.

✓III. The lack of competence in certain matters such as extra-territorial legislation, merchant shipping legislation, arising from the inherent inferiority of Dominion legislatures as non-sovereign bodies and the necessity for recourse to the British Parliament for the regulation of these matters.

✓IV. Supremacy of legislation enacted by the British Parliament applying to the Dominions, secured by the Colonial

Laws Validity Act, 1865. By the terms of this Act any piece of colonial legislation which comes into conflict with an Act of the British Parliament applying to the colony is declared invalid to the extent of its repugnance to the latter. This is of course a necessary corollary to the theory of sovereignty of British Parliament. But as a matter of fact occasions for such conflict are dwindling down with the devolution of legislative authority to the Dominion and narrowing of the powers of the Imperial Parliament in the sphere of purely colonial matters. The jurisdiction of the British Parliament has been reduced to the indispensable minimum, *viz.*, to matters where uniformity of practice throughout the Empire is demanded. Even in such cases suggestion has been made for the enactment of reciprocal statutes based on previous consultation and agreement.

It is obvious from this analysis that in the sphere of legislation at least one of the partners of the Empire; *viz.*, Britain, retains a decided superiority over the rest which appears hardly compatible with the declared equality of status. The cut-and-dried answer is of course that "equality of status does not extend to function. Even so, admitting the fact of legal sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, it is not altogether inconceivable that the rigidity of procedure in the matter of legislation may be relaxed to a considerable extent and brought into line with the practices followed in other matters. But how this can be effected with due regard to the facts of the situation, is a matter for expert lawyers and the task has naturally been left by the Committee for specialists in the field. The Committee have however laid down some general principles that may be followed in these matters.

Advice should not, as a rule, be tendered to the Crown by the Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion. In case of proposed legislation affecting the interests of other parts of the Empire a previous consultation should take place between His Majesty's ministers in the parts concerned.

In matters where the legislative competence of a Dominion legislature is limited due to its non-sovereign character, "legislation by the Parliament at Westminster applying to a Dominion would only be passed with the consent of the Dominion concerned."

We now pass on to the sphere of judicial administration. The judicial organisation in the several parts of the Empire is determined by the respective constitutional acts. But the judiciary in all parts of the Empire lead up to one point, *viz.*, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England which is the final court of appeal from all parts of the Empire. There has been a growing sentiment in all the self-governing Dominions and even in India for doing away with the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council as much from a sense of self-respect as from the great inconvenience and expenditure involved in carrying in appeals to the Privy Council. The Irish people, for example, at the time of the drafting of the constitution fought tooth and nail for what we may call "judicial autonomy." Of course, appeals were allowed only in specific cases from the local High Court. The Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth forbids appeals in constitutional cases involving the rights of the Commonwealth and the states or of the states *inter se*, without the sanction of the High Court, which is hardly accorded. The South African Constitution forbids appeals from any South African Court except the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court and the Privy Council entertains appeals from that Division only in most exceptional circumstances. In no case are appeals entertained save from the highest court of appeal available in a Dominion, state, or province. Moreover, "In the commonwealth (Australian) appellants may carry their cases to the *High Court or the Privy Council* and in Canada they have the choice of the Supreme Court or the Privy Council, but if an appellant chooses the local jurisdiction, the Privy Council will normally refuse leave for a further appeal from the High Court or the Supreme Court if

it decides against him. *Nor does the Privy Council encourage resorts to its jurisdiction save in cases of importance.*"<sup>1</sup>

Of course, in ordinary cases involving civil and criminal rights the Privy Council would perhaps be only too glad to waive its jurisdiction and in fact it is always loth to entertain appeals except when grave issues are involved from colonial courts, but as Prof. Keith observes, "the value of the appeal to the Privy Council does not lie so much in the agreement of a common view of legal issues as in its special competence to pronounce on constitutional issues and the extent of the royal prerogative, and in its power to enforce the supremacy of Imperial legislation!"<sup>2</sup> The question is how far is it practicable to reconcile complete judicial autonomy of the Dominions with the legislative Sovereignty of British Parliament. If the Dominion High Courts have the last word in the matter of interpretation of constitutional issues is it not throwing the constitutions at the mercy of the Dominions themselves? Consistently with the facts of the situation what can be done is to reduce the rôle of the Judicial Committee to an appellate Court only competent to try cases involving interpretation of specific clauses of the constitutions of the Dominions. For this is the only safeguard against the legal violation of the constitution conferred by Acts of the British Parliament. As the writer quoted above has remarked elsewhere with reference to the denial of this to Irish Free State,—“Autonomy is clearly inconsistent with compulsory appeals, but the Irish Free State was denied authority to determine the appeal doubtless because it is the obvious and effective safeguard of the treaty of 1921 over all Irish legislation and administration. The appeal in constitutional matters cannot be taken away by any Irish legislation even under the constitution and it is clear that the Imperial Government was not willing to give the Free State the power possessed by the Union

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Keith, *Dominion Home Rule in Practice*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* n. 50.

of South Africa to legislate, subject to reservation to extinguish the appeal." <sup>1</sup>

Let us now turn to the relations of the Dominions to foreign states. Here also an attempt has been made towards reconciling the principle of imperial unity with equality of status. But naturally in the matter of foreign relations in some points autonomy of the self-governing partners is thrown into the background by the more weighty consideration of unity of the Empire as a whole. Formerly in the matter of concluding of treaties between any part of the British Empire and some foreign state the king was advised primarily by the British ministers, save that the Dominion concerned was given the privilege to send its representative who might be present at the negotiations. Now any government within the Empire can open negotiations with a foreign state provided it should inform all other parts so that they may claim for proper representation, if their interests are involved by the subject-matter of the treaty. Moreover, "before taking any active steps which might involve the other governments in any active obligations" the initiating government must obtain their definite assent. Where the other governments have been given full opportunity of indicating its attitude towards a treaty but have kept reticent, the initiating government may presume its concurrence therefrom and dispense with separate ratification by them. It should not be overlooked however that treaties proper can be made only by the King and that they can be signed by the plenipotentiaries for the various parts of the Empire only in virtue of full powers issued by the King. "On the authority a recommendation of a British minister, however faithfully he may act in his recommendations on the advice of a Dominion Government and that ratification can only be expressed in the same way." So any treaty made by any part of the British Empire binds all the other parts through the common Head, although it might not

<sup>1</sup> An article in Journal of Comp. Legislative and International Law, Vol. IX, Part I.



impose active obligations on all the parts. The Imperial Government naturally has a definite superiority in this respect inasmuch as the British ministers are, so to say, the keepers of the King's conscience. As Prof. Keith observes in the paper referred to above, "The idea that the King could act, without any ministerial advice from the Imperial Government, *simply on the submission by Dominion Ministers*, is an impossibility. If any part of the Empire decided to conclude a treaty gravely injurious to another part or parts, it would not merely be the right, but also the clear duty, of the Imperial Government to suspend ratification pending full discussion by an Imperial Conference." Thus London is, so to say, the clearing house of foreign relations of all parts of the British Empire *inter se* as well as with foreign States. In respect of treaties or conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations there is comparatively little difficulty as all the members of the British Empire being its original members, participate in the negotiations as separate nationalities although associated as one unit by mutual consultations and conference. The ratification may be made by the whole Empire as a unit.

But it should be remembered that treaties are only one of the modes of adjustment of foreign relations on specific questions. Every civilised state in the present-day world comes into contact with every other state in a thousand and one ways on questions of routine nature which need not and cannot possibly be settled by means of treaties. In the case of free States these things are settled through the diplomatic representatives at the State capitals. The question arises what is to be the procedure to be followed in this respect by the Dominions in their peculiar position. The Committee have observed, "It was frequently observed that in this sphere, as in the sphere of defence, the major share of responsibility rests now, and must for sometime continue to rest, with *His Majesty's Government in Great Britain*. Nevertheless, practically all the Dominions are engaged, to some extent, in the conduct of foreign relations,



(II) A single British Empire delegation composed of representatives of the different parts concerned.

(III) By a separate delegation representing each part of the Empire participating in the conference.

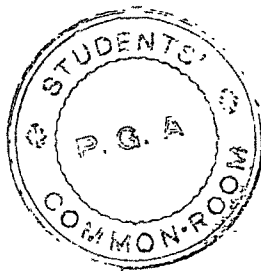
The Committee further recommend that "certain non-technical treaties should, from their nature, be concluded in a form which will render them binding upon all parts of the Empire, and for this purpose should be ratified with the concurrence of all the Governments. It is for each government to decide to what extent its concurrence in the ratification will be facilitated by its participation in the conclusion of the treaty, as, for instance, by the appointment of a common plenipotentiary. Any question as to whether the nature of the treaty is such that its ratification should be concurred in by all parts of the Empire, is a matter for discussion and agreement between the Governments."

It is clear, therefore, that an attempt has been made to act up to the accepted principle of equality of status even in external affairs so far as it is consistent with imperial unity. As a necessary concomitant to, and by way of compensation for, the relaxation of Imperial control in foreign relations the Committee has pleaded for more effective means of communication and consultation between the different parts of the Empire. As matters stand, the periodical Imperial conferences afford the only opportunity for mutual consultation among the partners of the Empire. Even the function of the Governor as the ordinary channel of communication and the representative of the Imperial government, has been superseded. All this has impressed upon the conference "the desirability of developing a system of personal contact, both in London and in the Dominion capitals, to supplement the present system of inter-communication and the reciprocal supply of information on affairs requiring joint consideration." However, the Committee has made no definite recommendations as to the manner in which this is to be effected but has left it for settlement between "His Majesty's

Government in Great Britain and the Dominions with due regard to the circumstances of each particular part of the Empire." But they have laid special stress on the point that any new arrangement should be *supplementary to* and *not in replacement of*, the system of direct communication from Government to Government and the special arrangements which have been in force since 1918 for communication between Prime Ministers."

✓ To sum up, 'Dominion status' at the present-day stands for a new type of political organisation which combines the possession of 'sovereign powers' without sovereignty as an abstract, juristic concept.

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL



## X

## EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

In order to keep as clear as possible of the dust of present controversy (not an easy thing to do in this connection), we will in this penultimate article, endeavour to establish as firmly as we can certain general principles, leaving the applications in India (so far as such application is possible) to the reader.

We are accustomed to date the birth of a nation from the day on which its armed forces came under the control of a central government, either democratic or autocratic. It is an arbitrary choice—as for everything else that grows it is not really possible to fix an exact date for the beginning or for the completion, even if we concentrate our attention on one only of the communal activities, such as commerce, literature, road maintenance, defence or even, as we shall presently see, Education. There is always a troublesome period of transition (in the typical department of military affairs, the Feudal period) during which the service, whatever it is, falls between the two stools, local and centralised government, and for a time is less efficient than it would be if singly centred, with every one in agreement that it should be so centred. The sting of that last sentence is in the tail. No people has so far come to such a state that *all* services are national services. In every one certain activities are left to local government, as being pre-eminently of local concern, while others such as national defence and the Post Office are singly centred as local independent control would mean chaos. The usual principle (if it can be dignified by such a name) on which a matter is left to local control seems to be, that this may be done provided it does not mean general disaster. There is perhaps also a feeling that local control brings with it local and more intense interest, and therefore greater efficiency; but a moment's consideration of the actual

facts of the case will show that this idea has no foundation. The locally controlled activity is never so efficient as the nationally controlled one. The locally organized delivery of parcels or messages is never so cheap and punctual and free from errors as the Post Office is. The urban tramway is not as efficient as the Railway is. The local road is not as good as the trunk road is. The police force is not as efficient as the army is. Interest in a municipal election is never as great as it is in a Presidential election (we are thinking for the moment of the United States of America). Local knowledge of, and interest in, local administration is never so detailed as the same people's knowledge of, and interest in national activities. Every one knows when the Punjab Mail comes past. Hardly any one knows what time table (if any) the local trams observe. It may be objected that the Punjab Mail is more important and bigger and more striking than the tram is, to which we would reply ; that is our point. People are interested even in the details of a big thing ; they are not interested in the small thing at all.

Nothing is ever wisely left to local control except on these grounds :--

- (a) It will please them to have control ;
- (b) they cannot do much damage to any one but themselves ;
- (c) they will be furious if it is taken from them.

• It is never wisely so left in the expectation that it will be better done. It never is better done. Of course *a*, *b* and *c* are quite legitimate reasons, where they apply. It is quite correct to let people do things of their own free will less well than they could be forced to do them. Local administration is an excellent training ground for national administration, when we can afford it. We could not however afford to let Calcutta and Madras train themselves for national defence by fighting each other ; nor in the event of external aggression allow them to act independently. It would be a great nuisance if each insisted on

running its own Post Office ; but if feeling ran very high indeed it might be expedient to permit it for a time until they got more sense. It would not be such a fatal mess as the separate armies would produce.

The question now to be considered is : "Can we afford the losses due to local control of education?" We will not attempt any answer, but will take the liberty of pointing them out. Local control of education is practically universal throughout the world, because hardly any one looks further ahead than a year or two ; and all education might be completely stopped for ten or twenty years without any one being a penny the worse for the time being. If Madras and Calcutta each tried to run a train in opposite directions over the same line they would have to be reasoned with at once. But if they each allowed their educational systems to fall into the hands of ill-informed amateurs, who wasted the time of their students and totally frustrated their lives, a generation could easily elapse before any one was more than mildly interested. On the other hand the railway line could be cleared after a collision within 48 hours, but an ill-educated generation could not be got rid of until it died out in the ordinary course of events, a matter of many years.

"It would please them to have control. They would be furious if it were taken from them."

Does this apply to education? Unfortunately it does, and that, so long as it continues to be true, is a sufficient reason for allowing things to remain as they are. But there can surely be nothing offensive in attempting to produce another frame of mind.

"They can't do much damage to anyone but themselves." To discover if this is true, the reader ought now to ask himself the following questions :—

What proportion of my life's work has been done in, and has benefited or in any way affected, the town that provided for my education?

What proportion of the notables of this town (any town)

are natives of it, and what proportion were educated here? Which is greater, the proportion of letters posted here daily which go out of the town or the proportional number of the children born and educated here that afterwards go elsewhere to earn their living?

Exact answers to these are impossible of course, but if they are answered with any approximation to truth the conclusion to be derived is inevitable. Education in these days is just as much an intercommunal service as the Post Office or the railway is. Every argument which applies to the latter applies just as closely to the former, and those which are habitually used to retain the local control of education, if valid, would prove that the Post Office ought to be handed over to the municipalities as well.

Here are some of these arguments:—The nature of the education to be given in any district depends very closely on its local industries. In certain districts, for instance, children are taken into cotton and woollen mills at a comparatively early age, and it is quite conceivable, provided their total hours of work are not excessive, that this participation in industry is just as valuable a part of the education as the school work is. In any case it is clear that in practically every case these children will be employed in the cotton industry altogether after they leave school. Their curricula ought to be framed either to counteract the disadvantages of this specialisation, or else to make it more effective. Whichever it is decided to do it is evident that the people most fitted to do it are those on the spot, intimately associated with the industry and conversant with its details. They know what proportion of the students' time ought to be given to Art and what to Science, as no outside body of men could. It is the same in other districts. Each has its own specialty. The country school will naturally give all its work a biological bias. In pastoral districts the syllabus ought to differ from that in agricultural areas. The right time for holidays even differs by weeks for every two or three hundred feet



above the sea, and for every degree of latitude. Even in different districts of one town there are differences. It would be absurd for instance to provide the same kind of secondary school for South Kensington as we provided for, say, Poplar.

It is certain that the children who attend the former will nearly all be drawn from good homes, and in a majority of cases will proceed to further studies, whereas those who attend the latter will be completing their education and will immediately have to apply it, probably to engineering of one kind or another. What is the sense of running the Poplar School for Oxford Locals and why should the Kensingtonites not be taught enough Italian to talk studio, if they and their parents desire it? And so on.

All this is very plausible and highly pernicious nonsense. Any theory which leads to the conclusion that the best education for the children of one locality or of one social class, is different from that most suitable for those of any other locality or social class is rotten at the core. It may be the part of a Creator to destine one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour. It is a gross impertinence in the Board of Education. The nation's children can be separately assigned to their appropriate educations only after they are born. Even then the task is difficult.

It has already been suggested that one of the prime conditions of national stability is uniformity of its constituents. Inasmuch as we permit great wealth to exist side by side with great poverty we are preparing the soil for revolution and bloody murder (France in the 18th century). A nation cannot long exist where one class is highly educated and another is not (Sparta and its helots). There is no real unity between the sexes where men are educated and women are not. If education is left entirely to local support and local control the poorer localities are financially starved and unwisely directed; the richer receiving all the advantages of more generous assistance and more instructed supervision. Inequality is emphasized,

and whatever may or may not be gained by the individual, national stability is endangered.

Here are some of the things a central control can do more easily and cheaply than the municipality can.

It can provide educational apparatus such as pictures, cinemas, films, lantern slides, and expensive models to a great number of schools in rotation, and so save the waste of unnecessary duplication or conversely, greatly increase the range of such work without additional expense.

It can organise the passage to industry of those students whose education is complete.

It can standardise the teachers' salaries and so ensure that all children will have the same ability devoted to them.

It can provide professors for advanced teaching in subjects for which no one locality provides more than one or two students and collect classes for them from all over the country. At present such subjects are not attempted or if there is a handful of local students, a cheap teacher is provided, and allowed to teach them in a cheap building with inadequate apparatus. If for instance all the local teachers of painting in oils were discharged, enough money would be set free to employ a first class artist, provide him with an illustrative art gallery and transport to and maintain in this class every fit student who is now being taught wrong. There would be no additional expense. Such a class, and such a professor, should of course be stationed in proximity to the great art galleries of London, or some such centre.

As soon as the central government started on this collection of advanced students, it would find itself faced with the reorganisation of the University. The Advanced Class in the unpopular subject already exists in many cases, and it is only a matter of collecting students for it. The allocation to different Universities of cognate subjects, the abolition of unnecessary duplication and the standardisation of the degree, or all matters which await the institution of a national Education Committee.

The last especially is a reform long since overdue. Some of the English provincial Universities award degrees on a standard which would not pass muster in the higher forms of a Scotch Grammar School ; and the American Universities exhibit an even greater disparity. An American degree may mean anything, or nothing. The difference between one Indian degree and another is so far not important, but anything can happen now, unless foreseen and prevented.

We will conclude this article with some notes on internal administration of schools and colleges, that is to say, not so much the disciplining of students, as the means by which the teaching staff co-ordinate their teaching work. A school or a University has the same alternatives that a nation has. It may choose, or have chosen for it, either an autocratic system under a principal or head master, or the teachers may unite to elect a Senate or a Board of Studies, and manage their affairs on democratic lines. Combinations of both on the lines of a limited monarchy are also to be found here and there throughout the world.

In general the autocratic system is adopted for the school and a democratic institution called a Senate or a Board of Studies is responsible for the Universities. There is for the moment apparently a tendency to adopt the former method for the newer Universities, notably in America. It has caused a good deal of trouble, as the average (if such a being can be called average, at all) Professor takes very unkindly to autocratic control.

There is also the question (all the more difficult because neither side will admit that there is any question at all), of what degree of control the tax-payers' representatives should exercise over educational policy. Another century, at least, must pass before that problem is solved if ever it is solved. It is the question of how democracy is to control the expert. The convinced democrat will say there can be no doubt that the expenditure of the people's money must absolutely remain in the hands of

the people's representatives. The expert will be equally emphatic that expenditure of money is in effect action, and that action without knowledge is bound to be wrong in nine cases out of ten.

We will found our suggested solution of these difficulties on the general principle "When in doubt, apply to God." Most people, if they believe in God at all would agree that He is the supreme expert, and could if He liked make us all live faultless lives. But for some reason, that does not seem to be the right creative method. The lines on which men should regulate their lives for perfection have been repeatedly revealed, but there is no compulsion to follow them. No one ever does.

If this is a right method it would seem that—

(a) The expert may require the expenditure of money only when he can convince those who must spend it that this is a right expenditure. If he should say, "it is for me to decide because I alone know" the answer is "you are claiming more than God does."

(b) If the Principal, or the Governors of a school, order a certain procedure, the expert is making a reasonable request if he asks that its rightness should first be demonstrated to him.

No one should be required to act blindfold. The judgment of the expert should never be accepted by the non-expert unless he can prove his case with strict reference to what the non-expert knows. If the gap between them is too great for that to be possible, action should be postponed; every effort being made in the mean time, of course, to bridge the gap from both sides. The series of articles of which this is the last but one are intended to be such an effort. That is why there is so much of general discussion addressed rather to the ordinary citizen of liberal education, than to the expert.

L. D. COUESLANT

## JUSTICE

What is Justice ?  
You and I are now enemies  
Both of us find that -  
Each of us  
Is right.  
I feel my right  
So profoundly,  
That I must  
Call upon God  
For comfort in  
My abysmal distress.  
You feel that you  
Must despise me  
Like a wolf  
That has devoured  
Your heart.  
Both of us have become  
So suddenly and unexpectedly alone  
And so proud and strong  
In our solitude.  
Finding each that  
We are dragging a load  
So crushing that  
Only God can understand ;  
And in the recesses of  
Our hearts a force  
Which lends to each the  
Greatness of martyrdom.  
Peruse the legal code  
Shake up the All-knowing philosophy,  
And the comforting philosophy  
To arbitrate.  
They will tell us  
That we are both right

When reason cools and  
Makes allowance for each side.  
*That* is justice,  
To let two integrities  
Devour each other  
Leaving nothing to  
Fight about.  
Let each of us keep  
His own injured right  
And wear its scarlet robe  
With a never-fading royal mien.  
Man and woman are  
Born enemies  
But may sometimes be  
Welded together for  
A short time in love.  
Only sooner or later  
To stand again like flints  
That upon contact  
Will produce sparks  
Like meteorites  
Caught in an hostile atmosphere  
Where they force their way through,  
Burning themselves up in futile  
Fury to remain free.  
Justice between man and woman is  
Like the square of the circle  
That only the simple  
Think they can reason out.  
Let us meet like enemies,  
Like plus and minus or  
Frost and sunshine,  
We are both right  
Because each of us suffers,  
And rejoice.

V. STUCKENBERG

ITIĤASA-PURĀNA <sup>1</sup>

It will not be possible here to go deep into the question of the samvāda hymns of the R̥gveda. It has been discussed threadbare by many eminent Continental Orientalists without arriving at any decisive result. They may either represent the oldest form of Indian narrative in fragmentary and enigmatic character, the dialogues being retained in verses and the prose portion of the narrative awaiting to be recovered with the help of the Brāhmaṇas or the Epic and Puranic literature or even of the commentaries, or it might be the case that these dialogue or samvāda hymns of the R̥gveda represent the earliest specimen of Indian drama. Amidst these conflicting opinions, this however can be said without fear of contradiction that these dialogue or samvāda hymns of the R̥gveda or these "ancient Indian ballad verses" as Winternitz calls them, signify the currency of some stories (ākhyāna) involved in these ballad verses, in the time of R̥gveda either in narrative form or in dramatic form. That some stories floated in the time of the R̥gveda is further made clear from the Śaunaka's Bṛhaddevatā, where it is distinctly manifest that along with the Vedic mantras there was left a sufficient and necessary room for the compilation of these sacred story traditions called the

<sup>1</sup> List of Abbreviations.

Mat. = Matsya Purāṇa

Pad. = Padma „

Vā. = Vāyu „

Hv. = Harivaṃśa

Br. = Brahma Purāṇa

Bḍ. = Brahmāṇḍa „

Viṣ. = Viṣṇu „

Var. = Varāha „

Mbh. = Mahabharata

Other abbreviations are readily intelligible.

Purāṇa Saṃhita for furnishing explanation, annotation and allusion to the Vedic mantras or more specially to these Saṃvāda or dialogue hymns of the Ṛgveda (*cf.* Rv. X. 95).

And it is to be marked with emphasis that these stories, sometimes being connected with some of these ancient ballad verses (Gāthās), and sometimes in independent form, are to be found preserved in some of our modern Purāṇas.

Now will it be proper to call these stories Itihāsas? Perhaps. The Saṃvāda or the dialogue hymn of the Ṛgveda (X. 95) is according to Yāska a Saṃvāda as the Brhaddevatā (VII. 154) tells us. In IV. 46 a similar type of dialogue or Saṃvāda hymn of the Ṛgveda (Indra and Marut's dialogues) has been described as an Itihāsa. It shows therefore that Saṃvāda and Itihāsa were synonymous terms of the same thing. And as has been shown above a Saṃvāda hymn almost automatically and essentially presupposes and involves a story, so that a Saṃvāda and a story were inter-related and meant the same thing. We can reasonably presume therefore that the stories were called Itihāsas. There are other evidences too. From Yāska's Nirukta, we learn that there was a Vedic school known as the Aitihāsikas--so named because its members made use of "the Itihāsa" in expounding the mantras and to certain mantras (sūktas) Yāska attaches a short narrative supplement which he designates Itihāsa or ākhyāna. Such Itihāsas are also to be found further in the Brhaddevatā, in the Anūkramaṇī to the Ṛgveda and also in the mediæval commentaries, *e.g.*, those of Devarāja, Durga, Sadguruśiṣya and especially Sāyaṇa, and it is a noteworthy fact, as I have said above, that these stories or Itihāsas were declared essential for the reciter to know in order to bring out the meaning in the exegesis of the mantras (*cf.* Durga on Nirukta, I. 5). In the Vā.-Pu. (I. 181) and also in the Vāsis.-Dharm. (XXVII: 6; S. B. E., Vol. XIV, p. 130) it is told with emphasis that by Itihāsa and Purāṇa one should supplement the Veda. Thus Vasistha says, "Let him strengthen the Veda by the Itihāsa and Purāṇa.



For the Veda fears a man of little learning thinking "He will destroy me." The Mbh. I. 1. 267 also has exactly the same idea. It seems therefore that the stories or ākhyānas or rather Itihāsas were in existence in the time of the Vedas.

And the evidences of the currency of such Itihāsas are not rare in the whole range of Vedic and post-Vedic literature where Itihāsa is frequently referred to along with Purāṇa. Thus in the Atharvaveda (XV. 6. 4) Itihāsa and Purāṇa is mentioned in connection with the movement of Prajāpati. The Śata.-Brāh. also mentions (XI. v. 6. 8) Itihāsa-Purāṇa as honey offerings to the Gods. The same book calls (XIII. iv. 3. 12-13) Itihāsa and Purāṇa each a Veda and commands recitation by the priests. All these passages and also (XIV. v. 1-10) others show that the Itihāsa in association with Purāṇa was a sort of definite composition. The old Chāndogya Upaniṣad says (III. 4. 1) that "Itihāsa and Purāṇa" is verily the flower, and again in VII. 1. 2 and VII. 1. 4, it is distinctly laid down that Itihāsa and Purāṇa is one of the five Vedas (Itihāsa-Purāṇaḥ Pancama Vedānām Vedaḥ). The designation of Itihāsa-Purāṇa as the fifth Veda is also mentioned by the same Upaniṣad in many other passages. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad also mentions Itihāsa-Purāṇa (II. 4. 10) as coming out from the great Haya-grīva and also in many other passages the Itihāsas and Purāṇas have been accorded a high place of honour. In the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad (I. 54) the purification by Itihāsa and Purāṇa is mentioned and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka also mentions Itihāsa-Purāṇa, and besides these the whole range of Sūtra literature is replete with such references. The Buddhist book Sutta-nipāta (III. 7) also says, "Sākharaṇṇapabbhidānaṃ itihāsaṇṇapañca-mānaṃ padaka." Here also Itihāsa has been designated as the fifth Veda. All these show that the Itihāsa, in association with Purāṇa, enjoyed a rank and dignity equal with those of the Vedas and so was ranked as one of the five Vedas. To these indisputable evidences from Vedic texts, conclusively attesting the existence of a collection of Itihāsas or Purāṇas entitled Itihāsa

or Purāṇa-veda and reckoned among the Vedas and placed on a footing of equality with the Vedas, there has recently been added a most significant datum in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra which shows that the Itihāsa-veda was still extant about the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The passage is (I. 3 7. 9ff.): "The triad Sāma, R̥g and Yajur vedas, the Atharvaveda, and the Itihāsaveda (are) Vedas." In this connection another passage also may be quoted from the introduction of the Mahābhāṣya, viz., I. 9. 21ff. (ed. F. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1892): "The four vedas with their ancillary literature and esoterism divided in many ways—'the dialogue,' the 'itihāsa,' 'the purāṇa,' 'the healing art'—of such extent is the scope of application of word (sound);" as also to the terms aitihāsika and paurāṇika applied respectively to those who knew or studied Itihāsa or Purāṇa. It seems therefore that Itihāsaveda or the Veda of stories was in existence in the time of the Vedas.<sup>2</sup>

It is of course true that the ancient Itihāsaveda is no longer to be found. But has it been lost to us beyond recovery? Perhaps it can be recovered in fragments from our extant literature on stories. It has been shown how ballads (verses) or rather gāthās connected with some stories (Ākhyānas), existed in the ancient world of India under the name of Itihāsa. Itihāsaveda probably was composed of many cycles of stories, each of which was again composed of many stories. Probably one such cycle formed the nucleus of the story of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas which has been elaborately dealt with in the Mahābhārata, where therefore we can reasonably expect to find some remnants of the ancient Itihāsaveda. Curiously enough, we find that in the Itihāsa-Purāṇa *par excellence*, i.e., the Mahābhārata, the title of the 'fifth veda' is given to Ākhyāna, while the Mahābhārata itself becomes the representative

<sup>1</sup> See Gangapati Sastri's Introduction to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to them in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, III. 12. 39: Itihāsa-Purāṇāni Pañchamaṇi Vedam Iśvaraḥ sarvebhya eva mukhebhyaḥ saṁjñe sarvā-darśanaḥ, etc.

of the fifth Veda, *cf.*, e. I., iii. 58. 9: "all 'four' vedas, (and) Ākhyāna as the fifth" and XII. 340. 21: "the vedas... the Mahābhārata as the fifth."<sup>1</sup> Such passages are not rare, but they are sufficient to show that the ancient Itihāsa-Purāṇa Veda has left distinct traces of its existence in the Great Epic. Moreover in the almost word-for-word similarity of the Epic with the Purāṇas and between one Purāṇa and the other in many places especially on the occasion of narration of stories, there is much to doubt that they all have derived their materials from the same source, namely a common story literature, and this story literature, it can be told with assurance, was the ancient Itihāsaveda. It seems therefore that the Purāṇas have also incorporated to some extent the ancient Itihāsaveda. Again, the verses which the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata frequently interpose are manifestly quotations from old metrical versions. "These old heroic songs whose existence we must take for granted have not all vanished without trace; in remnants and fragments, some of them have been preserved in the Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata." So, many of the old legends of kings and some very old genealogical verses (*anuvamśa śloka*) and song verses (*gāthās*) which have been saved from the original bard poetry and have been incorporated in our Purāṇas and Epic, must have come from the Itihāsaveda of ancient times. There is no reason to believe therefore that there was no such thing called the Itihāsaveda and that it has been lost to us beyond recovery. Now the question may be asked as to what is the relation between Itihāsa and Purāṇa. Almost everywhere, as we have seen, Itihāsa has been associated with Purāṇa. Only in two places they have been left unaccompanied, *viz.*, Itihāsa in the Sata.-Brā. (XI. i. 6. 9) and Purāṇa in Atharvaveda (XI. vii. 24) and also somewhere in the Sūtras. Let us now see to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mbh. I.60. : 3; 109. 20; XII. 210. 19; 325. 24f.; 342. 6; 342. 8; XIII. 22.12; II. 5.2.

question separately. In Amarakoṣa (I. vi. 4) we find that the word has been derived in this way: iti ha āsa, "so in truth it was," signifying etymologically a purāvṛtta, an event of the past. But a fuller definition perhaps means that it is an event of olden time conjoined with a tale and provided with a demonstration of duty, profit, love and final emancipation (the four objects of human existence) which is termed itihāsa.<sup>1</sup> It seems that Itihāsa bore a didactic sense also. And to the same sense we also find a sloka in the Mahābhārata:

Dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāmupadeśa-samanvitam,

Pūrvavṛttakathāyuktamitihāsam pracakṣate."

Śrīdhara Swamin, the commentator of Viṣṇupurāṇa, has also quoted the following sloka with regard to the definition of Itihāsa in connection with Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 4. 10 :

Ārśyādi-vahu-vyākhyānam devarṣi-caritaśrayam

aiṭihāsamiti proktaṁ bhaviṣyādvutadharmaṃyuk.

Here also almost the same scope of itihāsa has been prescribed, namely that it deals with various stories, descriptions of gods and sages and dissertations on dharma, etc. So we see that itihāsa sometimes means stories of old facts, and sometimes stories with avowedly didactic purpose. Then what is Purāṇa? Purāṇa means any 'old tale,' or 'ancient lore' generally (Mat. 53. 64.) In the Śaṅkarāchāryabhāṣya of the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (II. 4.10), the commentator says that by Itihāsa we are to understand stories like those of Purūravas and Urvaśi in the Sata.-Brah.; and by Purāṇa passages on creation and the like, for instance "in the beginning there was nothing, etc." In Sāyaṇabhāṣya of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the commentator repeats the same words like Śaṅkarāchārya. He also says that the fight between the gods and the demons may be called an Itihāsa and such things as the description of creation, etc., may be called a Purāṇa and Sāyaṇa further gives

<sup>1</sup> v. s. Apte, Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Poona, 1890.

an illustration of the two in his bhāṣya of Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (II. 9) where he says that Brahmāṇḍa might be called a Purāṇa and Mahābhārata might be called an itihāsa. However, we see that no doubt a broad demarcation was meant by the ancient Indians regarding Itihāsa and Purāṇa, implying the former to mean old stories of facts, sometimes didactic in its purpose, and the latter to mean cosmological myths and legends. And regarding the Purāṇas the lexicographer Amarasinha (I. 275) goes further and says that five lakṣaṇas are the characteristics of a Purāṇa and the lakṣaṇas are sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, manvantara and vaṃśānucarita. Though of course the modern Purāṇas are not sufficiently particular with regard to these five topics, yet these five topics are essentially the criterion of an ancient purāṇa and all the Purāṇas, more or less, profess to follow the ideal. We see therefore that Itihāsa meant an old story of facts and sometimes stories connected with didactic purpose (*cf.* Āśv. Gr. S. IV. vi. 6) and Purāṇa, cosmological myths and legends.

But this clear line between fact and fable was hardly definite, and gradually became blurred and so no clear distinction was made, and the words tended to become indefinite. A mere survey of the whole range of post-Vedīc literature will make it clear that the Indians were never systematic in the use of these terms. Innumerable instances may be found where the same subject has been simultaneously called both an itihāsa and a Purāṇa or sometimes combinedly called Itihāsapurāṇa. Thus Sāyaṇa himself expresses contradictory statements (S.B.E., XLIV, p. 98), when he says that itihāsas are cosmological myths or accounts, such as "In the beginning this universe was nothing but water, etc.," instead of declaring these as 'Purāṇas,' which properly lie in the domain of a Purāṇa. Again we see that Purāṇa is applied to a single story, whether quasi-historical (Mbh., I. 122. 4718 : XII. 150. 5595) or mythological (Mat. 247. 5. 8) or instructive<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Mat. 181, 5 : Vā. 46. 3.

so also an itihāsa may be an ordinary tale<sup>1</sup> or quasi-historical,<sup>2</sup> fanciful,<sup>3</sup> mythological<sup>4</sup> or even didactic.<sup>5</sup> Late Mr. Pargiter rightly observes in his *Historical Tradition* (p. 34): "In later additions to the Purāṇa any kind of tale is called an itihāsa, and spurious antiquity was ascribed to the stories, fables and other matters that are manifestly late by adding the epithet Purātana;<sup>6</sup> moreover we also meet with such terms as Gāthā, Nārāsaṃsi, Ākhyāna and also such terms as udāharāṇa and upākhyāna, etc., very frequently. These were simply titles of works and in fact no sharp demarcation has yet been found to exist among them and might be merged either with Itihāsa or Purāṇa. They are often treated as synonymous with itihāsa or Purāṇa.<sup>7</sup> In the Sūtras also such confusions are not rare and in fact Sāṅkhyaṇa-Sr.-Sūtra (XVI. 1.25) mentions a story as itihāsa and again Āśv. Gr. Sūt. (X. 7) mentions a story with the name Purāṇa. In the Mahābhārata also the unsystematic use of these terms are by no means rare. Thus the Mbh. calls itself a Purāṇa, Ākhyāna and itihāsa (I. 17. 19) and at the same time it is described as the most excellent of the itihāsas<sup>8</sup> and is also described as an Itihāsa mahāpuṇyaḥ (I. 62. 16). The reference is also frequently made to its Puṇyaḥ Kathāḥ and also numerous Itihāsas are frequently quoted with the formulae "atrapya udāharantīmām itihāsam purātanam. As collective terms itihāsa and Purāṇa are often mentioned as distinct<sup>9</sup> and yet are sometimes treated as much the same; thus the Vā. calls itself both a Purāṇa and an Itihāsa<sup>10</sup> and so also the Brahmāṇḍa.<sup>11</sup> The Brahma calls itself

<sup>1</sup> Pad. II. 47. 63 : III. 14. 14f.

<sup>2</sup> Mbh. I. 95. 3840; 104. 4178. Pad. II. 85. 15; V. 29. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Var. 53. 26; Pad. IV. 113. 203-13.

<sup>4</sup> Vā. 55. 2. Pad. VI. 19. 144; 98. 4; 108. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Br. 240. 5; Pad. V. 59. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Mat. 72. 6-10; Pad. VI. 77. 30; 243. 3; Mbh. XIV. 20; 21, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Vā. 54. 1-3. 115; Br. 131. 2. Pad. V. 32. 8-9; VI. 29. 1-3; 192, 16 with 193, 90-1.

<sup>8</sup> Mbh. I. 1.266; 259; 19; 26.

<sup>9</sup> Mat. 69. 55; Br. 161. 27; 234. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Vā. 103. 48. 51, 55-8, 4, 1, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Bd., IV, 4, 47, 50, 54-8,

a Purāṇa and an Ākhyāna.<sup>1</sup> So we see that the difference which undoubtedly existed in the use of these terms was subsequently blurred and their application became unsystematic.

Is it possible to find out some apparent reason for this confusion in the use of these two terms? Probably it is due to this. We know that a purāṇa warrants the description of five lakṣaṇas and the lakṣaṇas are sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, manyantara and vaṃśānucharita. A clear analysis will make it clear that each of these topics is almost inseparably connected with Itihāsa or rather stories of old facts. For example vaṃśānucharita remains but imperfectly described if however the attending Itihāsas or stories connected with the description of royal genealogy are left unsaid. In other words in almost every step of the description of royal genealogy a Purāṇa must encounter Itihāsas or Udāharaṇas (stories) which they describe, taking their materials from the ancient Itihāsa-veda, and in course of description of the story concerned some of the purāṇas also place before us old heroic songs (Gāthā: Gīta) connected with that story. For example such Itihāsas or stories, such as the story of Yayāti,<sup>2</sup> Māndhātṛ,<sup>3</sup> Arjuna Kārtavīrya,<sup>4</sup> Devāvṛdha<sup>5</sup> Alarka,<sup>6</sup> Śaśabindu,<sup>7</sup> Dattātreyā,<sup>8</sup> etc., and also other stories such as the story of Rāma Dāśarathi, Triśaṅku, Rantideva, etc., which some of the purāṇas describe, are but vitally connected with the description of vaṃśānucharita and every purāṇa must encounter and narrate these itihāsas if it tries to make a proper treatment of the topics. Exactly in the same way the topic of vaṃśa, i.e., the description of the genealogy of the gods and of ṛṣis is inevitably mixed up with the narration of ancient itihāsas.

<sup>1</sup> Br. 245. 27. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Vā. 93. 94-101; Bd. III. 68. 96; Br. 12. 39; Hr. 30. 1638. Vis. IV. 10. 8, p. 9; I. 67. 15. Mat. 34. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Bd. III. 63; Vā. 88. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Bā. III. 69. 19f.; Vā. 94. 19; Mat. 43. 23; Br. 13. 170; Pad. V. 12. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Vā. 96. 13; Br. 15. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Bd. III. 87. 70; Vā. 92. 66; Br. 11. 51; Hr. 29. 1588.

<sup>7</sup> Vā. 95. 19; Bd. III. 70. 20; Mat. 44. 19; Pad. V. 13. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Vā. 70. 76; Bd. III. 8. 83.

For example the lives and achievements of such ṛṣis as Dīrghatamas, Utaṭhya, Bharaḍvāja, Sunassephā, Visvāmītra, Vāśistha, Bhṛgu, etc., which are genuine itihāsas in the true sense of the term, are essentially necessary in the description of the vaṃśa, at the elimination of which the narration of Vaṃśa cannot at all be regarded as correct. Similarly in manvantara, or the description of the reign of Manus, there is an itihāsa (story) attending the birth of almost every Manu (cf. Mārkaṇḍeya, Ch. 53 f.) which is necessary for the description of a Manu's reign. In this way the existence of Itihāsas can be traced in the remaining two topics also. It seems therefore that purāṇas formed an integral part of Itihāsas. In other words a Purāṇa cannot exist without itihāsas. In Mbh. we read the following sloka :

Purāṇe hi kathā divyā ādivaṃśāsca dhīmatām

Kathyante hi purāsmābhiḥ śrutapūrva pitustabaḥ

1.5.2.

and again :

Imaṃ vaṃśamaḥaṃ purvaṃ Bhārgavaṃ te mahamune

Nigadāmi yathāyuktam purāṇāśrayasaṃyutam.

1.5.6.7.

It seems therefore that the Mahābhārata also knows that a Purāṇa is necessarily bound to describe kathā or stories which are mixed up with the narration of any vaṃśa. And this is also referred to in the first chapter of the Ādi Parva of the Mahābhārata where is given a long list of kings, the description of whose career and achievements amounting to Itihāsas have been declared allowable in a Purāṇa. It is evident therefore that Purāṇa forms an integral part of itihāsa, and so when an itihāsa is described in a Purāṇa, it is undoubtedly an Itihāsa and at the same time a Purāṇa. Perhaps it is because of this, that very frequently in our Purāṇas and smṛtis we come across these two terms in collective form, e.g., Itihāsa-purāṇāni, Itihāsa-purāṇam, etc.,



probably implying the fact that a Purāṇa is subordinated to Itihāsa. In the same way our Epic, which is no doubt an itihāsa, is bound to describe the genealogical tree of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus—an essential factor in the development of the main story—and as such it comes into the domain of a Purāṇa. Moreover the cosmological speculations, the narration of ṛṣi families, which are contained in the Epic, also transfers into that literature the character of a partial Purāṇa. It thus appears that our Epic is an Itihāsa-Purāṇa in the same sense and in the same degree as our Purāṇas are Purāṇa-Itihāsas. Perhaps here lies a clue to the unsystematic use of these terms by the ancient Indians. Itihāsa was therefore considered as a genus and Purāṇa a species.

Let us now turn to Kauṭilya's view. His view might be regarded as decisive in this respect. In his Arthaśāstra (I.5. [10.15]) he regards Itihāsa<sup>1</sup> as a collective term, comprehending the six groups, purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharāṇa, dharmasāstra and arthaśāstra. Here it is evident that itihāsa was regarded as a class of literature with a wide extent which predicated several things, or in other words itihāsa was a sort of genus, under the subordination of which there was an assemblage of different species, possessing of course certain characters which are more or less common. The relation between Purāṇa and itihāsa as we have seen above is therefore quite in conformity with what Kauṭilya says. It may be accepted as final. That itihāsa has got a didactic purpose to illustrate the principle of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa has been stated (cf. dharmārtha, etc., the sloka from the Mbh. quoted before). It is no wonder therefore that Kauṭilya would include the group of dharmasāstra and arthaśāstra under itihāsa, and also the group of udāharāṇa for udāharāṇa comes automatically when the question of illustrating the principles concerned with stories arises; and this process of

<sup>1</sup> Kauṭilya also recommends itihāsa to be read by a prince daily for the perfection of his education (I.5. [10.14f.]).

illustrating something with stories is called in Sanskrit an udāharana or rather an example.<sup>1</sup> Itihāsa therefore comprised the groups of udāharana, dharmasāstra and arthasāstra. Purāṇa, as we have seen, also cannot exist without itihāsa; it has therefore been rightly included under the genus Itihāsa. Moreover, as we have seen in the sloka quoted above (Purāṇa hi kathā divyā ādivamśasca, etc.), the Purāṇas warrant the description of Kathās regarding genealogies, or in other words a Purāṇa without any deviation from its strictly particular scope might describe stories of important persons. Such stories are perhaps called itivṛtta in Sanskrit, as the following śloka from the Mahābhārata seems to declare :

Itivṛttam narendrānām ṛṣināñca mahātmanām.—I.1.16B.

It has been clearly said here that itivṛtta is a class of literature conveying the achievements of kings and high-souled seers. We can reasonably assume therefore, that the portion of a Purāṇa which contains the scope and possibility of describing, and actually describes, the activities and life-story of kings and seers is called itivṛtta, though of course it might also be called itihāsa in its narrower aspect, for itihāsa is a generic term. Any way, itivṛtta, it seems, was related to Purāṇa.<sup>2</sup> But itivṛtta is probably analogous and almost synonymous with what we call ākhyāyikā, for ākhyāyikā also implies a tale or story, though of course it might not always mean a tale or story of a king or of a seer. Thus it is apparent that Purāṇa, itivṛtta and ākhyāyikā, though given different nomenclatures, practically mean the same class of literary works, involving a slight demarcation; for whereas a Purāṇa implies a systematic division of its materials (cf. Amarakoṣa) under the boundary of the Pañcalakṣaṇa, an itivṛtta or an ākhyāyikā might mean any independent tale. But taken as a whole all these classes of literary works, as we have seen above, bear intimate connection with each other and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the sloka quoted before— upadesasamanvitam itihāsam pracakṣate.

<sup>2</sup> Kauṭilya also seems to imply this in Arthasāstra, v. 6 [255.1].

come under the domain of itihāsa. Itihāsa is therefore the genus having under it an assemblage of species, namely: Purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharāṇa, dharmasāstra and arthasāstra. And according to this definition of itihāsa, the present Mahābhārata is certainly a most appropriate example of that class of literary work, for the Great Epic is, as we all know, a jumbled-up dissertation on many things, in which, however, it will be found on a clear analysis that it observes, very faithfully, the definition of itihāsa as given above. So the present encyclopædic nature of the Mahābhārata, which though outwardly appears to be a discredit of it, has however a very strong justification for its being so; firstly in the sense that having once pledged itself as an Itihāsa, it cannot but describe and elucidate the various component parts of it, namely, Purāṇa, itivṛtta, ākhyāyikā, udāharāṇa, dharmasāstra, arthasāstra, etc., besides the description of the main plot; and secondly it can be said, that our Epic on becoming an itihāsa was ambitious enough to place itself as a standard work on that subject by incorporating and amalgamating into itself all other previous works on itihāsa, as much as Kauṭilya did in the field of Arthasāstra.

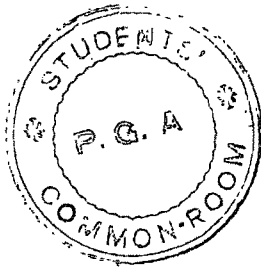
To draw a general outline of the growth of this Itihāsaveda and to trace its doctrine and its final absorption by any other literature seem difficult. Regarding Itihāsa, we find the trace of its existence in the Vedic period; but as to its contents not a word is said in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature. That Purāṇa was included in the Itihāsaveda might simply be guessed, for itihāsa has been constantly found in association with Purāṇa. Even in the time of Kātyāyana (middle of the 4th century B.C.) it appears (in his statement)<sup>1</sup> that as if these various constituent parts of Itihāsa floated as stray waifs of literature without bearing any connection with the Itihāsaveda. Kauṭilya is therefore the first man who informs us about the contents of the ancient Itihāsaveda, its scope and nature (evidently by his definition of

1. A. Dr. Weber has shown in his extracts from Pāṇini (IV. 26).

Itihāsa), regarding which so many references are to be found in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature. His statement is further remarkable in the sense that, at least up to the 3rd century B.C., the people were acquainted with a Veda known as the fifth Veda, and called as the Itihāsa-veda, which dwelt with Purāṇa, ākhyāyikā, udāharāṇa, itivṛtta, dharmasāstra and arthasāstra. But, that the ancient Itihāsa-veda was already showing signs of disruption is evident from the testimony of Kauṭilya himself; for though he includes Arthasāstra under Itihāsa, yet he himself brings that subject under a different and new treatment. So the 3rd century B.C. may be regarded as the turning point in the history of the Itihāsa-veda when the Arthasāstra, which was one of its component parts, seceded; and also this conjecture can be reasonably hazarded, that from that century onwards, Purāṇa, which was so long considered as a species of the Itihāsa-veda, seceded from it and assumed an independent character, by incorporating into itself, in addition to many foreign matters, almost all the materials of the ancient Itihāsa-veda, and so swelled in bulk in such a manner that a time came (say 1st century A.D.) when it was thought necessary to put the materials of the Purāṇa under a systematic classification called Pañcalakṣaṇa which came to be regarded as the characteristic feature of a Purāṇa. Thus from the ruins of the ancient Itihāsa-veda a new class of literature called the Purāṇas were born; and to give an air of antiquity and sanctity to this new class of literature, they misappropriated the designations of "Pañcamo-veda," and "Itihāsa-veda," to their own use, which belonged to the ancient Itihāsa-veda alone. This process of the growth of Puranic literature was perhaps an event of the period beginning from the 3rd century B.C. and ending with the 1st century A.D. In this way when the ancient Itihāsa-veda was brought to complete absorption, the Mahābhārata, which was going to be written during that period (3rd B.C. to 1st century A.D.), and which was dealing with the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, saw the possibility of reviving the ancient

Itihāsa-veda in its body, and so took the pledge of Itihāsa and began to observe its definition very faithfully, and incorporate and amalgamate into itself the materials of the ancient Veda as far as possible; and in this way, after making itself a standard work on the subject of Itihāsa, misappropriated the designations of 'Pañcamo-veda' and 'Itihāsa-veda' for its antiquity and sanctity, and it is in this stage that we find it at present. The Mahābhārata is therefore the last remnant of the ancient Itihāsa-veda.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI



## REGENERATION OF RURAL BENGAL

II. *People*—The second factor in the rural reconstruction is people. It is a truism that all development and progress, whether economic, political or social, is for man and is to be achieved through man. In the early construction of society man or his labour was one of the active factors while land was the passive factor. It is man's activity on the passive factor of land that constructed villages or organised the village communities, and the significance of man's activity in social construction or reconstruction, of course, has remained as important as ever. If good land may be secured for good men everything else for the benefit of the village will automatically follow.

The problem is, therefore, how to secure good men—economically and socially capable men—for the revival of Bengal rural life. It has been more than once averred, in course of this study, that there was a time when the villages were inhabited by men who or whose descendants proved themselves to be eminently fit for all sorts of social utility works. It is said Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar; it may be said with greater truth Scratch a Calcuttian (Calcutta aristocrat) and you will find a Bengal rustic.

But all these people, some in the first, some in the second and a few in the third generation, have deserted their villages. The causes have been seen elsewhere to be physical, social and administrative. In a word, from almost every point of view, the town areas became, and even still are, better to live in, than most of the rural areas.

In order therefore to attract good men to the villages and to retain those few who have as yet not deserted them, the village areas are to be made as covetable to live in as the urban areas, by removing their defects and inconveniences. This can be attempted by measures on land, which have been already discussed and measures on organisation. But organisation can-

not be made but with the help of men. How suitable men can be found for such organisation is the most difficult problem to solve. Attempts for securing and making efficient the human factor in the rural reconstruction may be made primarily upon (a) those who are still in the village and (b) those who are still in touch with the village of their ancestors.

(a) Those who are still in the village are the remnants of a once fine race but now a miserable specimen of decaying and dying population and particularly so in the Malaria-stricken areas. Rickety in physique, feeble in mind, weak in morals, leaderless and lifeless, they continue a sort of passive and pathetic existence incomparable perhaps with any section of humanity in the world but surely unique in India. They know that disease is their daily companion and death hovers day and night at their very doors. They have no peace or enjoyment for the present and no hope for the future. They know that the span of life is much more shorter for them than it was for their ancestors, and that their village community is in the process of dissolution and that their life is a continuous suffering, but they say with peculiar equanimity that such things are inevitable in the Kali-yuga (iron age) in which they have been destined to be born. Those rare birds among them who through their energy, enterprise or favourable chance are rising above the ordinary low level of the common folk in such villages are flying away from them to towns for their own felicity and for the healthy existence of their children.

Of course the whole rural areas of Bengal are not to be painted in the above dismal picture but the painting is surely true for the major portion of the Province and prospectively so for the whole of it.

The areas which are still in a flourishing or even static condition regarding population and production is expected to decline along with the extension of the modern social-amenity and economic-development services like the railroads, embankments and other sort of roads which are sure to bring Malaria

in their wake. It is necessary therefore to be always watchful about the progress of the miasma for taking the necessary preventive or curative steps.

The next step to be taken in the improvement of the rural people should be directed towards their economic improvement. The villager is better off than his ancestor but relatively poorer than his urban brother, and absolutely so in consideration of the desirable development of his civilising needs.

The obstructions in the way of his economic prosperity have been found to be in the land system, in the want of capital, in the want of education and also in the want of organisation. Remedies suggested or applied are the amendment of land laws, the institution of co-operative credit societies, agricultural education, industrial development and co-operative organisation. All these have been found to be more or less useful. But in order to improve the economic condition of the Bengal rural areas two things may be mentioned as of outstanding importance—the creation of the peasant proprietorship and the development of the industrial centres in the rural areas. The first will automatically bring in energy and enterprise in the Bengal village and the second will give a new and necessary scope for the useful application of these economic virtues.

The Industrial centres, if developed, will serve as model townships with their organisation for sanitation, education and economy, and will appear as veritable oases of felicity amid the wilderness of the deserted and unhappy rural Bengal. They will supply service to the *Bhadraloks* as in the earlier days of near-at-hand British factories.

Mr. Toynbee remarks about the Hughli District that silk and indigo factories in the earlier half of the 19th century supplied remunerative occupations near people's own homes all over the district.

“The number of brick buildings in every village, the comfortable appearance of the dwellings are sufficient evidence of their being a prosperous race.”



"In the middle of the 18th century the East India Company had a large weaving factory at Doneacolly (Dhaniakhali). In those days it was a more important place."—District Gazetteer, Hughli, p. 259.

It is only one of the instances of a declining village which began to lose its prosperity along with the disappearance of factories which supplied supplementary works to soft-handed as well as hard-handed labour. Their resuscitation will deliver the agriculturists from the hands of the middlemen by opening readily approachable markets for their raw products, they will increase the social amenities and, most important of all, they will improve the economic condition of the rural people by opening a source of supplementary employment in their idle season or in addition to the half-time occupation in case of many in the too small fractionised holdings, for which purpose Mr. Gandhi's prescription of Charka has proved so ineffective. There can be no doubt about the theory of Prof. B. K. Sarkar that the organisation of small factories will be beneficial to rural Bengal economically and otherwise. The growing prosperity—sanitary, economic and social—of factory centres like Rishra, Champdani as well as the rapid reclamation of Bansberia, Tribeni, etc., through the installation of Jute Mills—all in a virulent malarial zone, should remove any scepticism regarding this method of rural reconstruction.

(b) Those ex-villagers who are still in touch with their villagers but no longer its *bona fide* and permanent residents, are to be brought back or made to take more active interest in the affairs of their villages. Their presence will solve many of the rural problems, such as the supply of necessary capital, intelligence and knowledge.

In order to bring them back the conditions that caused their departure are to be removed and further steps are to be taken for making them interested in the affairs of the rural areas. The steps would be economic, social and administrative. Farming peasant-proprietors should be created by altering the land

system, service-holding near about the village should be facilitated by organising factories in the rural areas, social conveniences are to be secured by constructing good motor roads and otherwise, and their position should be maintained by giving them opportunity to work as leaders and benefactors of the villagers, as members of the union boards and similar administrative organisations.

III. *Organisation*.—Of the three essential requisites for village regeneration, land and man have been considered. But land and man without organisation are of little consequence in the world. Organisation therefore is a vitally necessary factor in any scheme of village reconstruction.

At one time the Bengal villages were well-organised units but they are no longer so. Sir W. Hunter writes in his *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*, Vol. III :- “The mandals, the head ryots are rapidly losing their influence. The causes of the decline of this as well as all other old village institutions are, first, the systematic neglect of such agencies by the government; second the growing power of the zemindars; and third the declining need of such agencies occasioned by the introduction of a regular police, strong government...” Social, economic and administrative causes have led to the dissolution of the finely organised village communities everywhere in India and particularly in Bengal. Custom and status have given way to competition: individualism and rationalism are in the full swing with all their merits and demerits and the unitary character of the villages has vanished altogether. There is no longer the Pradhan or the Mandal with his time-immemorial constitutional authority, and there is no longer that spirit of obedience and discipline so essentially necessary for the corporate existence of mankind. Thus organisation is a very difficult thing to be made from within the village. At the same time any permanent organisation is impossible but with the native materials. The securing of such necessary materials also depend upon a sort of organisation at the start and thus there seems to be an endless

confusion—organisation for its permanent success depends entirely upon the internal materials of the villages and the gathering of such materials depends upon some sort of organisation in the villages themselves.

But the dilemma may not altogether be irremovable and the agency for removing it, primarily and in any effective scale, must be the state.

The problems of the village organisation may be considered under two separate captions : (i) initiation and (ii) completion.

(i) The initiative measures must be taken by extraneous agencies which may either be the state or private pioneering bodies. The latter may be helpful and in some cases successful but the former only can be depended on for any large-scale and effective realisation of the ideal of the rural reconstruction.

The possible natural agents of organisation are those who are personally interested in it—the villagers themselves. But in many villages they are not capable agents, and so they cannot undertake the task. The organisation therefore, depends upon persons not directly interested but indirectly so through motives of philanthropy, patriotism or political partisanship. Such private persons are very seldom sacrificing and enterprising enough to be successful. Their resources are scanty in comparison with the task to be done. Moreover, village organisation requires state help in legislation and co-ordination and therefore the private persons and bodies cannot be successful by themselves.

Thus the only proper and capable agency for the village organisation is the state with its eminent domain over land, with its vast resources, omnipotent imperium and standing machinery for government. But the state can only initiate the reconstruction which requires, for completion and maintenance, earnest and sincere help of the villagers themselves. The task of the state therefore should be to prepare the ground by legislation and financial help and by the creation of a number of townships as models for the future reconstructed villages of Bengal. With such models before their eyes and with the beneficent encouragement

and aid of the state, the villagers themselves may be expected to reconstruct their villages, and rural Bengal will be reconstructed.

First the state will have to change the land laws for creating peasant proprietorship in rural Bengal. It has been seen that this can be done not by any violation of the so-called pledge of the Permanent Settlement but even under its conditions and by merely such exercise of the eminent domain of the state on land, as is frequently done in all civilised countries including India, in the interest of public-utility services like railroads.

A fund for rural reconstruction is to be founded by the state. The money required may be gathered in it by fresh taxation, by savings from the curtailments in some of the present-time expenditures and by voluntary contributions for the pious work from charitable persons. (A detailed scheme for the construction of such a fund may be discussed hereafter in a separate section of this study.)

The creation of model townships in village areas may be of incalculable benefit to the rural people, and veritable object lessons for village reconstruction.

The site is to be selected with an eye to its natural, social and administrative advantages. A village near a railway station or with the possibility of the establishment of the automobile communication, or on the bank of a river or rivulet or otherwise with a plentiful supply of water for domestic purposes, with fertile land, already existing schools and other institutions for social amenities, and with headquarters of the administrative units like the union boards, thana and post office, may be selected. There may be found many villages with all these requisites, there may be found many more with some of these requisites, and a few naturally excellent sites may be found without social or administrative institutions at all.

After the careful selection of site the state is to acquire the absolute ownership of it for public purpose, *i.e.*, the creation of a model township. Then the following steps are to be taken by the state for making the site into a model township.

(a) *Communication*.—The site is to be connected with the district head quarters or the nearest railway station by good motor roads. In many cases this necessary opening out of communication will be easy and cheap through the improving of the existing district or local board roads. The recent institution of the road committee has been a timely move, and if the policy of developing motor roads be effectively and vigorously pursued for twenty years to come, it will make immense contribution towards the reconstruction of the Bengal villages. Good roads will surely increase economic prosperity and social amenity, and make many villages much more habitable to the *Bhadralok* class, than they are now.

(b) *Sanitation*.—The sanitary conditions of the site are to be improved. Tube wells, re-excavation of tanks, filling up of the depressions, clearing of jungles and a good drainage system may be necessary.

Dr. Bentley's Bonification scheme is said to have been proved after experiments to be considerably efficacious in purging malarial sites of its poisonous effluvia. If so, no pains or money should be spared in trying it effectively in the selected sites.

(c) *Administration*.—This model village should serve as the headquarters of a considerable area for the location of all the public and semi-public institutions. The union board headquarters, the police, the district board dispensary, the veterinary hospital, the school, the biweekly market, the agricultural demonstration farm, the post office, the public library and all similar social-amenity or nation-building organisations are to be located here.

The Union Board should be regarded as the primary and direct agency for rural administration.

The terms of reference to the Bengal District Administration Committee were "To examine the conditions prevailing in the districts of Bengal...and to report in what respects the administrative machinery can be improved...with the special

object of bringing the executive officers of Government into close touch with the people."

The union boards were created for the politico-administrative purpose of keeping the rural people in touch with the state, through the chain of the circle-officer who is to co-operate with the representatives of the people. But they may be developed as the resuscitated village communities immemorial to Hindusthan and as the centres of all rural activities. These boards may be regarded as the best fruits of the anxious deliberations of the British Indian officials to keep the state in touch with the masses of the country who, ignorant and isolated as they are from the administrators at distant headquarters, are liable to be easy victims to the wily politicians who for their own reasons are out to destroy the British Government in India. The policy of organising the Union Boards may be regarded as of epoch-making significance from various points of view, from that of securing and maintaining the necessary spirit of allegiance and co-operation to the state, of gradually training the people in the civic duties and local self-government, and of rural reconstruction.

At present their scope is very much limited but this may be extended in various directions. Now they have to discharge mainly some functions with regard to sanitation, education and communication. In a few cases they have got the charge of distributing justice also in petty cases. Their functions may further be extended by placing into their hands the watch over the measures and weights, the inspection of the foodstuffs and similar other beneficent works. They are now in charge of serving summons and certificates in connection with cess and other revenue and their influence may still further be increased by devolving on them similar duties in connection with judicial and criminal justice, as well as tendering rents to the landlords " ...the dignity and status of the president...enhanced with... powers to arrest any persons committing an offence in his presence, as well as to order unlawful assembly to disperse and, if

necessary to summon civil assistance for the purpose...entrusted with inspection of schools and pounds of the union...enquiry into unnatural deaths...collection of vital and other statistics."—Bengal District Administration Committee, 1911. Their services may be invaluable in connection with the disputes between the tenants and the zemindars, if the tendering of the disputed rent money-order be allowed through them. Such extension of functions may be appreciated much by the rural people and will have keen reaction in taking interest in the union boards. Such beneficent activities of the union boards will also have the desirable reaction of a political nature by which the masses will be brought home to the effectiveness of the Pax Britannica. Land is ever the traditional link between the state and subjects in all countries, and specially so in India. The baneful effect of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal in cutting asunder this tie of land between the government and the governed can only be removed by extending the functions of the state directly or indirectly through organisations like the union boards which will strengthen the hold of the state on the people, and any effective protection given to them in connection with their holding, will be loyally appreciated by them.

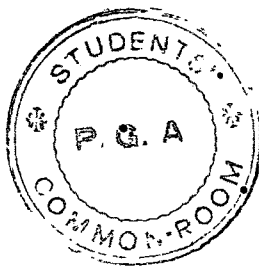
But there are manifold difficulties in the way of progress of the union boards. Of these the following three may be regarded as of vital importance: (1) Want of efficient personnels, (2) want of requisite funds, and (3) want of co-operative sympathy of the rural folk. The first is due to the desertion of the village by its intelligentsia, the second is due to the appropriation of the local rates to the central organisations like the district boards and the last is due to the ignorance and misapprehension of the villagers and the management of the union boards.

The personnels of the union boards may be improved by cautious handling of the nomination process. The principle of the strict proportion of  $\frac{1}{3}$  nominated members may be abandoned where necessary. In case of the lack of suitable candidates for election, the proportion of nominated members may be

increased by the district authorities. People having no stake in the village, such as the zemindar's gomostha, should be debarred from election. On reasonable grounds the District Magistrate may be empowered to declare any person as an undesirable candidate, and in many cases the representative elements may be fixed at the minimum of one-third, to be gradually extended to two-thirds on the proof of successful administration and selfless development of civic spirit. This privilege of majority representation may be an instrument of an encouragement as well as a check to failure as the case may be, and may be a remedy to the factionous bickerings so deplorably prevalent in many of the union boards in Bengal.

This humble scheme for rural reconstruction cannot be regarded as complete without a detailed consideration of its financial aspect. This may be undertaken in a future instalment of the contribution on the problem.

A. K. SARKAR





## I HEAR THE GLAD NOTES

I hear the glad notes of the chords of life,  
They are round full notes vibrating ;  
That bid me cast off the worry and strife  
And tell me that you are waiting !  
'Tis you who make the life chords swell  
That fill my soul with ecstasy ;  
And make the land where dreamers dwell—  
A world of loving harmony !

I hear the mad notes of another phrase,  
Where the solemn chords are changing ;  
Now gone from my life, no more shall I gaze  
Upon her face so enchanting !  
Slowly they chant and walk along  
To where her grave lies, cold, unknown !  
With dirge-like sadness wails the song  
That mocks me now her love has flown !

I hear the sad notes from an unknown land  
Which blend with the roll of the drum ;  
And I hear her voice, 'tis a sweet command  
She is gently bidding me come !  
I do not fear the sea of death  
As I sail my phantom ships,  
So when I draw my final breath  
I shall frame her name on my lips !

K. LENNARD-ARKLOW.

## CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

*From Herder to Sorokin (1776-1928)*

1918-22. **Spengler**: *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Decline of the West) promulgates a philosophy of historic progress and cosmic revolution which in Indian terminology may be described as a philosophy of *yugantara* (transformation of the epoch). It is based on the idea that "life is only fulfilled in death" and that the "world's end is the completion of an inwardly necessary evolution." This is his doctrine of *Entropy*. From the standpoint of to-day he believes that he can see the "gently-sloping route of decline." He predicts that the decline will be consummated in the course of this very century. One feature of the present-day degeneracy consists in the fact, says he, that "since *Kant*,—indeed since *Leibnitz* there has been no philosopher who commanded the problems of all the exact sciences." But the regeneration of life that is going to take place in the twentieth century or perhaps later in the near future will consist, first in the overthrow of the will-to-victory of the exact sciences by "a new element of inwardness," and in the second place, in the development of an "infinitesimal music of the boundless world-space" which will enable Western science to return to its spiritual home.

The message should appear thus to be neither unacceptable in the main although many of the details are to be objected to, nor entirely pessimistic although the title of the book might inject doses of dejection into the hearts of the Westerns at any rate. Spengler's intention is rather to indicate the beginning of the "cultures yet to be." He has made a thoroughly objective attempt to describe "one world-historical phase of several centuries upon which we ourselves are now entering."

Goethe's conception of "living nature" furnishes the key to Spengler's interpretation of "world-as-history." The rhythm, form, duration, etc., of every organism are determined by the properties of its species, says he. An oak is immortal, so to say, but a caterpillar does not grow up to be several years old. There is a limit to growth in each instance, and the "sense of limit is identical with the sense of the inward form." In the case of higher human history it would be highly irrational to postulate "unlimited possibilities."

Each culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression, which arise, ripen, decay and never return. World-history is a picture of endless formations and transformations, of the marvellous waxing and waning of organic forms. There is bound to be a system of "Civilisation" consequent upon every system of *Kultur*.

Spengler's philosophy of history is a history and philosophy of destiny and is based on an inductive analysis of the Egyptian, Chinese, Classical, Indian, Arabian and Western histories. In the evolution of every race or region he discovers the cycle of four-fold season. The "spring" represents rural-initiative, the "summer" gives rise to ripening consciousness, the "autumn" corresponds to the zenith of strict intellectual creativeness while in the "winter" megalopolitan civilization dawns and the extinction of spiritual creative force takes place. There is a "pre-cultural" period in every race. Then follows an epoch of "*Kultur*." Finally comes "civilization, which is different from *Kultur*, in which indeed *Kultur* inevitably completes itself and into which it degenerates and becomes petrified. Spengler's cycle will easily remind one of the dictum of Polybius and to ascertain extent of that of the Chinese historian Sze Machison (S 100 B.C.). In ideological content the summers or autumns, etc., of the different races are identical although chronologically the summer of one may be centuries ahead of or behind the other and so on. Similarly, no matter what be the chronological distance

between the races or regions the evolution from pre-cultural to the cultural and thence to the civilization stage exhibits in each more or less identical or analogous phenomena of life and thought. It may be remarked that the *qualitative* relation between Spengler's *Kultur* and civilization has something in common with that between *Toennies's* "community" and "society."

Equipped with this comparative morphology of social life Spengler proceeds to describe and evaluate the state of Eur-America about the period 1800-2000 A.C., and considers the condition to be analogous to the transition from the Hellenistic to the Roman age. "Rome—with its rigorous realism—un-inspired, barbaric, disciplined, practical, protestant, *Prussian*—will always give us, working as we must by analogies—the key to understanding our own future." The transition from *Kultur* to "civilization" was accomplished for the classical world in the fourth, for the Western in the nineteenth century. The characteristics of the present-day "civilization" in Eur-America are to be found in imperialism, the "formal sway of individuals," "world-cities," predominance of money, matter-of-factness, absence of Platonic or Kantian philosophy, disappearance of the "Greek" idealism of a Don Quixote and the emergence of the "Roman" feature of a Sancho Panza. The type is embodied in the "will-to-expansion" of the colonialist Cecil Rhodes "the first man of a new age."

The Western development is taken by Spengler to begin with the Frankish period and Charlemagne (500-900 A.C.). This is characterized as the "pre-cultural epoch." The "cultural" epoch comprises the Gothic (900-1500) and the Baroque (1500-1800) periods. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are taken to represent the epoch of "civilization" which implies decadence in the sense described above. The "winter" has set in and is likely to continue to 2200. But, of course, "if winter comes," as the poet sings, and as Spengler's methodology accepts, can "spring be far behind?" The world

will witness about that time a *yugantara* (cosmic revolution or transformation of the age spirit) and the establishment of its cycle of seasons.

Perhaps yes, because after all it is only a truism which says that one form or style of life is going to be replaced by another. But evidently there are few students of objective history who, as Spengler is not unaware, would be prepared to accept the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in point of values, as inferior to the preceding centuries, not to speak of marking a definite pathway downwards. Rather with the Renaissance and more especially with Leibnitz, Descartes and Newton (seventeenth century) as the starting point, Europe is to be credited with a steady, onward progress the possibilities of which have hardly as yet been exhausted. A philosophy of history or of human destiny would be more true to reality if instead of commencing Western life and thought with the fifth century one were to commence it at, say, 1700. Because, for all practical purposes the period between 500 and 1700 did not develop anything in the West which might be described as epoch-making and at any rate as essentially distinct from what the East had done in previous epochs or during the same period. The characteristic products of Western history are the gifts of the "modern epoch," the age represented by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It need be noted *en passant* that the tripartite division of history as "ancient-mediaeval-modern" is condemned by Spengler. And there is every reason to believe that the twentieth century is continuing both extensively and intensively spiritual and the material creativeness of those two centuries. If the eighteenth century can be conceded to be "Greek" and to represent *Kultur*, there can be no philosophical or sociological justification for considering the twentieth century to be "Roman" and to embody "civilization."

## SECTION 2.

*Post-War Developments.*

(1919-1928.)

1920. **Parmelee.** *Criminology: Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in their Relations to Criminal Procedure* (1908), *Poverty and Social Progress* (1916). The "born criminal" (cf. Lombroso) is biologically impossible because criminality is a social phenomenon. The "instinctive criminal" does not exist because there cannot be an instinct for crime. The "habitual criminal" is psychologically inconceivable. Professional criminals as well as "insane" criminals are realities. Lombroso has given weight to racial factors in criminality. He characterizes peoples as being racially inferior or racially superior. He thinks that the atavistic traits of the criminal take the form of a reversion to the traits of an inferior race. According to Parmelee, Lombroso's statements remain unproven. It is well to beware of extreme statements of the influence of race in which its influence is obviously or in all probability being confused with the influence of other factors.

1920. **Lowie** (1883- ). *American Primitive Society*. If the highest civilizations emphasise the paternal side of the family so do many of the lowest. Primitive institutions are not invariably democratic. Tribal monarchy or autocracy is not necessarily a mark of higher culture. Territorial state may come into existence even without the transitional stage of "clan" or "gens." His conclusions lead to the subversion of the anthropology embodied in **Morgan's Ancient Society** (1877) and the sociology in **Engels's Family, Property and State** (1884).

1921. **Thomson.** *Control of Life*: Views of heredity are influenced by three modern ideas: (1) Idea of germinal continuity (Galton and Weismann), 'Like begets like.' (2) The idea of "biological" atoms or unit characters (Mendel and De

Vries). These behave as if they were discrete entities and might be distributed to the offspring in some degree independent of one another and reunited in new combinations. (3) Bodily modifications acquired as a result of nurture are not readily transmissible. Man is very modifiable. Nurture means much to the individual.

1921. **Conklin** (1863- ). *The American Direction of Human Evolution, Heredity and Environment* (4th edition, 1922): The advancement of civilization has meant only improvement of environment. Neither environment nor training has changed the hereditary capacities of man. Mankind has failed to substitute "intelligent artificial selection" for "natural selection" in the propagation of the race. Both Church and State has encouraged the propagation of idiots, defectives and insanes. There has been an extinction of the most gifted lives by celibacy among religious orders and scholars or by wars which decimate the best stocks. The eugenicist can eliminate the worst human kinds from the possibility of reproduction—but is not in a position to employ the methods of plant-breeders and animal-breeders in regard to human beings even with the laudable object of producing supermen. The "ideal individual" is not the highly "specialized unit" as in the case of social insects but rather the most general "all-round type" of individual. Such a generalized type cannot be produced by methods of "inbreeding" or "close breeding" as it must include the "best qualities of many types and races." Mendelian inheritance shews how it is possible to sort out the best qualities from the worst. Conklin objects to the Galtonian idea of segregation and intermarriage of the most highly intellectual members of society. Hybrid races are not always inferior to "pure bred" ones, if any such exist. The wholesale sterilization of all sorts of criminals, alcoholics and undesirables without determining whether their defects are due to heredity or to conditions of development would be like burning down a house to get rid of the rats. Not fewer and better

children but more children of the better sort and fewer of the worse variety is to be the motto. Cf. **Davenport** (1866- ), *Heredity in its Relation to Eugenics*, New York, 1911.

1921. **Gini**, *Italian Problemi sociologici della guerra* (Sociological Problems of the War): pressure of population is an incentive to war.

1921. **Charmont**: *Les Transformations du Droit Civil* (Transformation of Civil Law), first edition, 1912; *La Renaissance du Droit Naturel* (The Renaissance of Natural Law), 1910; *Le Droit et l'Esprit Democratique* (Law and Democratic Spirit), 1908.

He traces the revolutionary departures that have been introduced in civil (family property) law under the influence of *mouvement social* (socialization) since the C<sup>ode</sup> Napoleon organized the legal system on the individualistic basis. The family of "yesterday" was more stable and more solidly organized. The landed property was conserved and transmitted integrally in order that it might serve *tous les membres de la famille* (all the members of the family) as *un centre permanent de protection* (a permanent centre of protection). The family of to-day is more mobile, and less rigorously organized. The law of partition might reduce the family to indigence. Industrialism again has disintegrated the family by giving separate employments to the man, the woman and the child. In the interest of the family the law has had to interfere. As regards property, one notices first that it grows out of the "agrarian communism of medieval times into an exclusive individualistic phenomenon." But at the same time property begins to be controlled by restrictions more and more in the interest of the community and public utility. The Great War and post-war conditions have not created any new ideas. The laws of to-day embody but the results of a long evolution, merely sanctioning, as they do, *une pratique et une jurisprudence pre-existants* (pre-existing practice and jurisprudence).

It is in keeping with these ideas when **Patouillet** and



**Lambert** remark that the codes of Soviet Russia, so far as civil law and the family code are concerned, are but continuations of the laws and customs already prevalent in Western Europe and America (*Les Codes de la Russie Sovietique*, Paris, 1925). In other words there is not much of alleged "bolshivism" in Soviet Russia.

1921. **Wierkandt**: *Staat und Gesellschaft in der Gegenwart* (State and Society in Modern Times), first edition, 1916. This German Sociologist is unlike Spaun a champion of democracy and socialist endeavours although opposed to 100 per cent. Marxism. He accepts the thesis of **Preuss's** *Das deutsche Volk und die Politik* "The German People and Politics," 1915, to the effect that the pre-war German state is an authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*) whereas Western Europe has developed the *Volksstaat* (the people's state), the democratic state. Each of these types of states is governed by one political party. In the democratic state, however, all the parties are treated as equal, whereas in the authoritarian state the ruling party is the only national patriotic party and the parties not on this side are treated as inferior, nay, unpatriotic and inimical. The authoritarian state compels a paralysis of many energies. In the people's state the distinction between rulers and subjects, or officers and citizens is less than in the other which may be described as a ruler-state (*Herrenstaat*) and privilege-state. The *volksstaat* abolishes privileges, promotes comparative equality and appears as the organization of the entire people and not as something imposed upon the people.

The modern national state was born in Western Europe in 1800, say, with the French Révolution. But in Germany citizenship (*staatsbürgerium*) was virtually unknown in the nineteenth century. The gendal-absolutist-patriarchal-authoritarian state is that the Germans had down to the Great War.

No political parties existed in the old absolutist state because then the ruler was the state. It is only in the folk-state, the one in which the people participate in the state, that parties

can arise. In a "people's state" everybody wishes to have his own will served by the state. Now the wills are different according to the classes. Thus diversity gives rise to conflicts which arrange themselves into groups. Political parties are nothing but conflicting groups representing the different interests in a community. With the exception of a few idealists each and every party is essentially an organisation for the furtherance of a particular class-interest. The welfare of the entire community is naturally as a rule out of the question in modern states governed as they are according to the *Parteibetrieb* (Party organization).

But the conflict of parties, mirroring forth as it does the conflict of social classes and group-interests registers a progress compared to the conditions of the absolutist state when only one class lorded it over the community. To-day the rivalries and propagandas of the diverse organizations prevent the emergence of any one-sided or preferential will into solitary prominence.

Economic programmes seem to be the exclusive features of political parties. But in reality the differences are deeper. The diversity of *Weltanschauung*, i.e., world-view or general philosophical outlook is no less profound as between party and party. The "conservative" party represents not only the landed aristocracy but also its conception of the state as something holy, and kind and authority as something God-ordained or divine. The "liberal" party is the party of commercial and industrial people and is used to looking upon the state as nothing more than an association, a union for watch and ward. Obedience, law and order, discipline constitute the slogan of the "conservatives" while freedom is the watch-word of the "liberals." The one is addicted to the *status quo* while the other is equipped for change. For instance, the "conservatives" were for the maintenance of particularism and regional independence of different German states while the "liberals" prepared the way for a unified Germany.

These two parties made their appearance in Germany in the 40's of the nineteenth century. The third party, the "social-democratic" came into existence in 1869. It represents the working classes—the so-called "fourth class," the king, the landed aristocracy and the capitalistic bourgeoisie being the first three. The "social-democratic" party is an advocate of change like the "liberals" but believes in the necessity and usefulness of the state like conservatives. On the other hand, it is, "positive" like the liberals in having faith in "this world" and differs from the conservatives whose interest in the "other world" is a characteristic feature.

Vierkandt condemns the conservatives as trying to perpetrate the ideals and methods of the patriarchal absolutist state and ignoring the most important aim of modern life, viz., *die Volle Entfaltung aller Kraefte* (the complete development of all powers). Their vice consists in practising *Vormundung* (guardianship) which can but lead to the paralysis of self-consciousness and independence.

"Liberalism" is anti-absolutist and anti-conservative in origin. Its first philosopher is **Locke** who allows the state nothing more than the function of protecting life, freedom and property. The same philosophy is preached by **Spencer**,—but at a time when even in England the state is already a legal protector of working men and on the Continent "social assurance" under the auspices of the state has grown into a reality. **Humboldt's** liberalism as expanded in *Die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates* (The Limits of the Usefulness of the State) forbids the state to interfere in the spiritual life of the individuals. Liberalism is most pronounced in the economic field, e.g., in doctrines of "natural freedom" and "free competition" taught by **Adam Smith**. Abolition of guilds and privileges, introduction of free trade, abolition of apprentice laws, abolition of laws protecting the working men against exploitation, etc., have constituted the programme of economic

political "liberalism" known generally as Machestertum ("the Manchester School").

The contributions of "liberalism" are both good and evil, but the good is on the whole more in amount. Repression of the spirit against which liberalism has fought, is a positive evil. The war for freedom is not yet at an end. Freedom is a good that is always in danger and must always be fought for over again. But so far as economic liberalism is concerned, the ruthlessness of natural freedom or free competition is to be seen in Malthus's law of population and Darwin's natural selection. The "fullest freedom for all" is absolutely impossible under conditions of inequality such as is natural with the society bound on classes. Bismarck clearly saw that the freedom preached by the liberal is really but freedom to oppress the weaker and for the weaker nothing but freedom to starve. The world war has opened our eyes to the fact that state intervention was a necessity to save the individuals from the ravages of freedom, viz., high prices, corners, etc. Altogether, liberalism is to be appreciated as a pioneer in the fight against fetters. But it erred while thinking that fetters are absolutely unnecessary.

In Western Europe as well as in extra-European countries the evolution of industry has passed through three stages. The first stage marks the one-sided "patriarchal" conditions in which the working man is a patient, passive agent while the employer, the exploiting master. Unrest on the part of the employees begins to manifest itself in the second stage but they are sharply put down by the employers as well as by the society and the state. The third stage is characterized by constructive practical measures of relief, self-help among the workingmen themselves or reforms introduced by the state and society.

About 1850 the third stage was already reached in England. In the 60's of the last century—with the beginnings of the "social democracy" movement—Germany entered upon the second stage. The third stage commenced in German industrialism with the 80's which witnessed the Bismarckian *Schutz*

*gesetzgebung* (legislation to protect the interests of workers). In post-war or rather post-revolution Germany the beginning of a fourth stage are to be noticed.

The "social-democratic" and allied movements have appeared everywhere as an aspect of the industrial revolution and in the second stage of its development. Social democracy is thus an "historical necessity." Nothing can be more absurd than to describe it as the result of a few interested agitators and ambitious adventurers or revolution-mongers. It is a reaction against certain definite evils in the social system and by all means represents a class-interest, the interest of the fourth class, exactly in the same manner as other parties represent other class interests.

Social democracy is opposed to the capitalistic organization of society but is not opposed to private property. It believes in the nationalization of large enterprises and leaves the smaller concern as well as the family life untouched. In pre-war Germany social democracy was legally more or less under the ban, and virtually excluded from active political life. The German masses have therefore hardly any schooling in practical politics. Preachers like Bebel have taught them only the "ideals" of a future state, which is nothing but a Utopia, the furthest removed from reality. Their methods of work and thought are abstract and comparable to the "rationalism" of the eighteenth century philosophers who have extraordinary faith in the power of reason and believe that mankind is all governed by reason. The German masses and their leaders have yet to learn that the instincts, passions, emotions, etc., are no less powerful in human nature than reason, rational thought and good will. It is only a school of realities that can teach them that on very many occasions the problems of life are too complicated for any solution. In other words, Vierkandt asks the contemporary champions of social democracy in Germany to cultivate the attitude of "compromise" to which their colleagues in other lands have used.

According to the Marxian economic interpretation of history, capital has to bear the main burnt in the class-struggle. And this is the gospel of "social democracy" too. But Vierkandt believes that capital cannot altogether be abolished and that even Bolshevism has failed to abolish it. Capital, profits, and inequality of income are going to stay, as far as one can see. All that can be accomplished is to reduce huge incomes, living on rent, etc., by high taxes especially inheritance taxes. Besides the working classes themselves must learn to cultivate in spirit an un-capitalistic way of life. And this can be accomplished only if money cease to be appraised as the highest good.

It need be observed that Vierkandt does not furnish an adequate interpretation of social democracy such as an orthodox Marxian would do. Marxian social democracy is really communism and involves the withering away of the state, which is not within the scope of the legally constituted and officially recognized *Sozialdemokratische Partie*. There seems to be some confusion of thought here, which may be solved by reference to *Lenin's State and Revolution*.

In his *Gesellschaftslehre* (Theory of Society), 1923, personality is not an individualistic or atomistic phenomenon. Traditional psychology considers it to be a unified and well-defined entity. In reality an individual's personality or character is diverse in different capacities. The soul reacts according to the situations. Every new social situation means a special centre of strength and activity for the soul. The group is a unit and society is a totality too. Family, ancestral stock, state, nation, manners, language, law and economy, the flag and the altar, are no less real nuclei of life than are the individuals and are at the same time more or less independent of the latter. The group is a closed self-sufficient system of energies and relations, the individual, however, has his soul doors open to the external world,—natural and social. Every individual carries two souls in his breast, one leading him towards the

neighbour, community and the society, and the other prompting him to prefer privacy. He does not propagate the sociology of optimism and inevitability of progress but of struggle by competition. In contrast with other sociologists he devotes hardly any attention to the economic and technical aspects of social life, especially of the modern and contemporary types.

*(To be continued).*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

## THE WIND IN THE KHUD

The wind rose crescendo from the Khud,  
 Its breezes started with a sigh ;  
 That slowly swelled in tones so high  
 Then grew rough and strong to blow the growing bud  
 From off its parent branch into the mud !  
 Caused by the monsoon clouds when passing by  
 Driven by the wild wind, the monsoons fly,  
 Swiftly onward, toward the land of flood !  
 Behold, the moon lies hid behind a cloud  
 The night fires from the Khud huts, grey and brown  
 Are scattered o'er the Khudside far below !  
 The wind is whistling thro' the trees, now loud  
 Then all is silent, for the wind dies down  
 Silent ! Save for jackals howling on the distant  
 . . . . .brow !

K. LENNARD-ARKLOW

EDUCATION IN GERMANY<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of the Indian Information Bureau, 52 Mauers-  
trasse, Berlin, which has been opened with the official support  
of the All-India Congress Committee, is primarily to supply  
Indian students with information regarding all branches of edu-  
cation in Germany and to help them on their arrival in this  
country to gain admission into universities, technical and indus-  
trial schools and factories.

Experience has shown that enquiries from Indian students  
are generally of a very vague character and that considerable  
ignorance prevails even as regards the general conditions of  
life and study in Germany.

In order to save time and to avoid unnecessary correspon-  
dence the Information Bureau purposes to issue a series of  
bulletins dealing with special branches of study. The present  
bulletin (No. 1) contains general information and suggestions,  
and should be carefully read by all Indians interested in coming  
to Germany for study or pleasure.

*Language.*—The very first observation we should like to  
make is that the language of instruction in Germany is natu-  
rally German and not English. It is useless for anyone to  
come to this country for study unless he is prepared to acquire a  
sufficient knowledge of the German language to enable him to  
follow the courses in the universities and academies or to derive  
benefit from his training in factories. Every effort should be  
made to learn German in India under a good teacher before  
starting for Germany. In any case it is advisable for students  
to come to Germany at least 4 months before the beginning of  
the university terms—the Summer term begins in April and the  
Winter term in October—so as to acquire a working knowledge  
of the language. There is an excellent course for foreigners  
at the Foreigner's Institute of the Berlin University which

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin No. 1. Issued by The Indian Information Bureau, Berlin.



has courses throughout the year. In addition, it is advisable to work with private teachers. Every help in this respect will be given by the Bureau.

*Educational Institutions.*—Indian students often ask whether training is obtainable in Germany in this or that branch of knowledge. It may be stated in general that there is no country which has such efficient and such comprehensive institutions for instruction in all subjects as Germany. We have *universities* fully equipped for the studies of physical and natural sciences, medicine, law, history, economics, politics, literature, philology and philosophy; *technical universities* for advanced instruction in mechanical, electrical and naval engineering, all branches of industrial chemistry, aeronautics and architecture; *technical academies* (polytechnics) for less advanced instruction in the same technical subjects; *agricultural universities* and special institutions (e.g., for tropical agriculture); *commercial universities* and institutes; *special industrial and professional schools* for each industry, glass, porcelain, sugar, soap, oil and fats, tanning, textiles (spinning, weaving, dyeing, bleaching, etc.), boot and shoe manufacture, watch-making, optics, photography, cinematography, etc., etc.

*Degrees and Diplomas.*—In Germany the Doctor's degree is conferred by universities in philosophy (including literature, philology, history, physical and natural sciences), political science, medicine, theology, law and commerce. The Technical University (Technische Hochschule) confers a diploma in engineering, and also the Doctor's degree in engineering. All other schools give diplomas and no degrees. As Indians have acquired the absurd habit of wanting to write a large number of letters after their names, we should like to point out that all degrees and diplomas in Germany are the result of academic work and that there are no such cheap letters here as M.R.A.S., F.Z.S., etc., obtainable in Great Britain by paying a subscription to a society. Full information regarding German degrees will be supplied in a later bulletin.

*Qualifications needed.*—The most regrettable fact about Indian students is *either* that they do not themselves clearly know that they want to study or they wish to leave India with insufficient preliminary education. We should like to state that it is highly inadvisable for any Indian student to come to Germany, unless he has already received a good training in India. For those who wish to join a *university* in Germany it is highly advisable to have the B.A., B.Sc. or some other Bachelor's degree of an Indian University, as this is regarded as the *minimum* for admission as a student on the same terms as German students who have passed the final examination of a *Gymnasium*. In special cases, Indian students who have passed the F.A., I.A. or I.Sc. of an Indian University are admitted to German universities as students provided they pass a special supplementary examination (*Ergänzungsprüfung*). The *minimum* period of study at a university is 3 years. No student is advised to join a Technical University (*Technische Hochschule*) who has not *at least* the B.Sc. or B.E. degree and who is not prepared to devote at least *five years* to his university and practical training. For those who wish to acquire sufficient technical training to become good practical engineers or enter industrial life, it is sufficient to join a technical academy, where the period of study is from 2 to 3 years. Those who wish to take up a branch of industry should thoroughly study the conditions of the industry in India (nature of raw materials and driving power available, the market and capital at their disposal, the labour market, etc.). Only those who come equipped with full information on these matters can derive real benefit from their training in Germany.

*Factory training.*—The Bureau will do its best to place Indian students in German factories, but desires to emphasize that entrance into chemical and pharmaceutical factories is practically impossible. In general it is easiest to get into machine factories doing export business such as the great electro-technical concerns of Siemens, Schuckert, A. E. G. (General Electric

Company) and Bergmann. Those who intend setting up factories of their own in India and are in a position to purchase their machinery in Germany may generally be sure of obtaining complete training in the particular branch of industry in which they wish to specialise. For training in electro-technical and mechanical engineering ; textile manufacture (spinning, calico printing, weaving and bleaching) certain metallurgical and mining processes; the manufacture of soap ; the refining of oils ; the manufacture of glass, porcelain, sugar, watches, etc.; as well as in a number of useful industries for which Germany manufactures special machinery, it is possible to find scope for Indian students to get a thorough training. It must be repeated that as a rule *no payment* should be expected from the factory for work as apprentices, and in certain cases, as for example, for admission into factories manufacturing soap, glass, etc., a premium varying from £10 to £30 may have to be paid in order to obtain admission.

*No advice* can be given by the Indian Information Bureau unless full details are supplied regarding the following points :

- (1) age,
- (2) full address and profession of father or guardian,
- (3) exact information relating to school, college, and university education obtained,
- (4) the special subject or profession or industry in which instruction is desired,
- (5) how much money the student has for his stay in Germany,
- (6) what career has the student in view after returning to India.

All advice and information will be supplied gratis to students as the Bureau is being supported by the Indian National Congress for this purpose. But it should be borne in mind that those who are conducting the Bureau are doing honorary work, and students are requested not to enter into unnecessary correspondence.

*Finance.*—The average sum needed for study in Germany is £15 per month. This covers board and lodging, washing, tram expenses, and partially fees and clothing. But it must be pointed that students of science, especially chemistry and medicine need somewhat more money (about £5 per month extra) as they have to purchase their own apparatuses. For the first two months, especially the first month, for obvious reasons, the expenses of boarding and lodging are likely to be somewhat more. A large number of Indian students wish to know whether they can earn money in Germany while studying. While we regret that poverty should be a hindrance to studies, *we strongly warn students not to attempt to come to this country with the idea that they can earn their living.* There is considerable unemployment in Germany and it is not possible for Indians to be paid for work in Factories, etc.

*Passports and Visas.*—Students intending to proceed to Europe whether from "British India" or from the Indian States must provide themselves with a British passport. It is advisable to have this made valid for all European countries, so as to enable students to travel during the holidays. Persons in possession of a British passport issued in Great Britain or the Dominions or by British Consuls in foreign countries do not need a visa from the German Consulate to come to Germany. But an exception has been made in the case of India and Australia. Indians do come to Germany without a German visa, but strictly speaking, a German visa is needed if the passport has been issued by the British Indian Government.

• *Postage.*—Much inconvenience and expense are caused by the fact that a large number of letters from India are *insufficiently stamped*. It should be remembered that the postage for an ordinary letter from India is As. 3 (three annas) and for a postal card As. 1½ (one anna and a half). Information will be supplied to students gratis by the Bureau, but all contributions are welcome. It is, however, useless to send Indian

postage stamps for replies, as they cannot be used in foreign countries.

*Shipping Lines.*—Enquiries regarding steamers to Europe should not be addressed to the Indian Information Bureau but to tourist bureaus in Bombay or Calcutta.

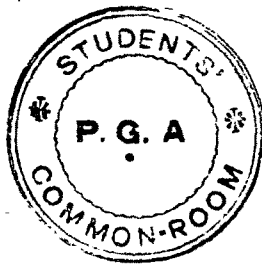
*Commercial enquiries.*—As has already been stated the Information Bureau is run primarily in the interests of students, but it is prepared to answer commercial enquiries provided

(1) the enquiries are confined to a particular line of business,

(2) they are clear and definite,

(3) a fee of ten shillings is sent in advance, for reply to commercial enquiries entail an enormous amount of correspondence.

Enquiries not confined to one particular line of business will not be answered by the Bureau.



POETRY<sup>1</sup>

I would like to say a few stray things this evening about poetry. But in this age of aeroplanes and electioneering, poetry like teetotalism stands in need of apology. The world is much too busy, they say, for your rhyming which jingle quite well for good five minutes and then—tush! We are out for solid things—things that count—things that have a respectable definiteness about them—that is the general cry among us. Those who unluckily dabble in poetry earn the unhandsome epithet—‘caddish,’ and their job is dismissed in quite a cavalier fashion as “the transcendental loafing of aesthetic vagabonds.” But I am afraid I am a little unfair to the modern man. This is not the attitude of the 20th century gentleman alone towards poetry. The old Plato in his *Republic* would not like to have a poet, for to his mind poetry which gives pleasure has no place in the ideal commonwealth as it has no utility. But this judgment of Plato is not final. He would be glad to admit defence. If the man who holds the brief for poetry can show that she is not only pleasant but also useful to state and to human life, then readmission to his commonwealth can be granted to poetry. It is rather queer that Plato should have thought like this; for he himself was a great poet though he did no rhymstering, and no one who has read his *Dialogues* can feel otherwise. Yet there is no escaping the admission that Plato’s was not the prudential mind of the moderner who in the intellectual field always looks for solid items of acquisition even as a glutton scans the bill of fare. It is thus the business of criticism to satisfy the Greek Philosopher and to show that poetry has a mighty deal to do even with our practical life. The cynic of to-day, however, does not feel like being friendly to poetry, and it is a pretty hard job to bring him round. Any

<sup>1</sup> Read before the English Association, Dacca University.

way, let us see how poetry is vitally connected with life and how our practical achievements take their colouring from a contact with the poetic minds of old. But this enquiry will depend upon a correct exposition of the true nature and function of poetry.

The popular notion unhappily is that poetry is a gossamer texture of dreams and delusions, without weight and substance,—flitting, luminous and fantastic—a jiggling little babble of absurd loves and impossible hopes—leading a queer troop of self-deluded idlers into the paradise of fools. The pseudo-scientist again blandly pats the lover of poetry on the back as if to say, “Good day, my old do-nothing. Getting on famously with your merry trade?” The curt man of business collars you outright and asks straight, “What’s all this pother about? Is poetry anything real? Does it help to a good dinner and a comfortable gig? Of what substantial advantage is this much-vaunted study of poetry?” And there is no end of this bother. All this shows a sublime innocence of the true concept of poetry. Let us then see what true poetry is.

We may start with this sorry confession that it is perilous, nay impossible, to give a correct and all-round definition of poetry. Logical definition implies an accurate statement of connotation which depends entirely upon the right perception of the differentia between the genus and the species; and poetry, though roughly and vaguely capable of being assigned to a higher genus which is literature, is itself a logical entity which is its own *summum genus*. Then again scientific definition implies complete analysis, and poetry is of such an elemental cast that analysis is quite powerless here. The reason, is that poetry is of life all compact and has its spring in the hidden deeps of human nature with its powers and passions; elemental forces, and dark abysses of feeling. And life in its subtlest operations refuses to be analysed, and it is the function of the highest poetry to touch and feel those mystic and nameless processes of life—those indefinable thrills of the vital energy

—that baffle the shrewdest alchemist of humanity. Any way, we should try to give in our exposition at least some essential features in which all classes of poetry more or less agree.

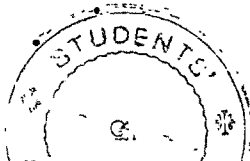
Various definitions have been suggested by various writers; but we look in vain in any one of them taken singly for at least a satisfactory approach to the full concept. Let us, for example, look at some of them: (1) The Greek Symonides calls it a *speaking picture*, suggesting in the words of our bright and shallow Macaulay that the poet does by means of words, what the painter does by means of colours. (2) If we would take the Homeric suggestion, we would describe poetry as a string of *winged words*. (3) Aristotle calls poetry a *species of imitation*, i.e., of life in all its operations; but the critic is here thinking more of the Attic drama than of anything else and he conveniently forgets that an imitation of life is possible as much in prose as in verse. (4) Edmund Spenser says,

“ But wise words, taught in numbers for to run  
Recorded by the Muses, live for ay.”

—a figurative definition. (5) Shakespeare in one of his flashing moments, when speaking of an inspired poet, says in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*,

“ The poet's eye, in fine frenzy rolling,  
Doth glance from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven.  
And as imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown  
The poet's pen turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name.”

—a description again: (6) Carlyle says that ‘poetry is the emanation of a beautiful and musical soul,’ and (7) according to Coleridge, “it is the blossom and fragrance of all human knowledge, human thoughts, human passions, emotions and language.” These are more or less poetic and figurative definitions given by poets.





Let us look at one or two definitions given by art-critics :

- (8) According to Matthew Arnold, "Poetry is the criticism of life," i.e., "the application of moral ideas to life under the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth"—an unfortunate definition to be sure, for the words 'criticism' and 'moral ideas' are as vague and unsavoury as they are misleading. (9) Blair defines poetry as "the language of passion or of enlivened imagination, formed most commonly into regular numbers." (10) Courthope says that poetry is "the art which produces pleasure for the imagination by imitating human actions, thoughts and passions in metrical language. The word may be used to signify either the outward form in which imaginative thought is expressed by means of metrical language, or that inward conception of the mind preliminary to creation which is shared by the poets with the professors of other fine arts." (11) Middleton Murray says, "The essential in poetry is an act of intuitive comprehension." (12) Watts-Dunton, that bright and acute critic with a flashing discernment of the essentials of poetry, defines it as "the concrete and artistic expression of the mind in emotional and rhythmical language." (13) Prof. Mackaill maintains that poetry is "that artistic and dignified expression of emotional thought which in its operation creates patterns of life, thought and speech"; while (14) Henry Newbolt, himself a poet of no mean ability, suggests that poetry is "that which touches the universal longing for a perfect world."

These are only a sorry few among the huge shoals of definitions that have grown round the word Poetry, and I do not want to bore you with any more of them. If one looks at these definitions a bit closely one readily finds that some of them are vague as poetry itself, others descriptive and ornamental, others again narrow and partial. One or two are, however, quite good, but they are chary of words and have about them the swift gleam of thoughts unsaid. Thus for having a clear notion of poetry in our own easy way we should try to examine it in a rather elaborate manner.

True poetry is the spontaneous, artistic and rhythmic expression of the mind stirred to its depths by some genuine passion, when man in his highest state of imaginative sensibility obtains an insight into the profound secrets of things and immediately perceives the beautiful with the result that his ideas and sentiments are provoked into life and moulded into a definite and concrete shape by the force of inspiration. Let us now examine more closely the statement of the essentials of poetry which we have just made.

Articulate speech, coherent and definite, has been the first great gift of the primal man—an easy reflex, as it were, from his reason which looks before and after and makes its author fit in with the things about him. Thus generally the words of the cave-man have helped him in the exchange of thoughts, brought about a synthesis amidst the multiplicity of his doings, and thus made his rude little life a cosmic whole. But there have been words more vital and real than these—words far beyond the pragmatic zone—words non-rational as the living life itself, springing self-expressed out of the abyssal deeps of feelings. The rude rage of the savage has roared in primaeval accents over the crushed foe. The sharp cry of the cave-woman for her dead little barbarian has thrilled through the ancient woods. The living flush of the dawn or the inscrutable glory of the sunset, the sea in its tumult or the demon dance of the thunder above the hill-peaks, have touched his ancient sense of mystery. Thus before the wonders of nature has the impulse of the savage so profoundly been quickened that his joy and marvel and awe in one elemental blend have shaped themselves into the vivid speech of the feelings and sprung out easily “as a pristine song in the compass of a single gush of emotion.”

Here in these feelings and words we get the crude firstlings of poetry. As the human brain grows through the process of evolution, reason develops, general ideas increase and complexities of thought come in. Pure feelings then get more and

more mixed up with thought and the emotional life tells unfelt into the rational. It is here that materials for poetry are manufactured. When the intellect at a stage pretty fruitful of ideas comes to be touched up and enlivened by passion, mental artistry begins, with the help of that quickening gift of man which we call *Imagination*. Imagination works with these materials aided by the shreds and pieces of experience, puts them together in a subtle fusion, and creates the new out of the old. But the imagination always needs the quickening flame of passion to keep it well alive and save it from being chilled into inanity. As this passion-touched imagination busies itself with *things* and *ideas about things*, the depths of the soul are touched, great heights of thought attained, and amidst the stir of the awful forces within the inner man dances in the joy of creation. “एकोऽहं बहुं स्याम् प्रजायिष्य”—the great and fundamental unit of the Ego multiplies itself through the jubilant impulse of self-expansion,—and visions start up, worlds swim into its ken, hidden beauties of things are revealed, and inspired utterances come out hot from the glowing forces of intuition in the dignified, rhythmic and artistic language of poetry.

Thus from the earliest times, the first artistic expression of the passionate and imaginative thought has been in the form of poetry—heroic and religious. The primitive passion of man has issued out through imaginative channels mainly in two big streams :—(1) the one of heroism and (2) the other of religion. We should, however, qualify one statement and say that a few little rills of personal joy and sorrow found their lyric flow through lullabies or folk-songs or other homely songs of a more definitely individualized emotions even in the earliest stage of poetic growth. The joy in adventure is as old as the cave, and the epic thrill has come to the artist from his first erect ancestor. Thus there is an abundance of martial and epic poetry in the early stage of mental growth such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But side by side with this the ancient marvel in the presence of the awful forces of Nature has been

sublimated by the imagination and lifted up from the common level of the purely perceptive wonder to the plane of a mystic devotion to some power behind these forces.

Man has thus been by nature a religious animal from the very earliest times, and hymnal poetry has been born in spiritual wonder which marks the birth of the religious as much as of the æsthetic consciousness. The first barbarian standing in awe before some great storm and muttering silly things to appease the wrathful power above him is as much devotional and artistic, rude though he be, as the cultured Aryan hymning the serene terror of the Indus through the Vedic songs. Each fears his vision in his own way ; each admires it, adores it, and feels its power. But they both try through sweet words and symbols to be friends with it, not knowing what it really is. Thus all religious poetry begins with coaxing the inscrutable.

Thus great and primal passion has ever been the source of poetic inspiration. Now, poetry which is truly great must have passion as its moving force ; but that passion must always be genuine. The word 'genuine,' however, needs a little looking into. It means, in the first place, a chastened and sublimated passion free as much as possible from its physiological concomitant. Secondly, it must be as true as the truth of life itself which is its spring, *i.e.*, it must be sincere and unaffected. Delicate dandyism of the perfumed amateurs of passion can never make great poetry. A cultured sigh, daintily breathed from a sofa, for green wilds and sunny little threads of stream, may make a few jiggling rhymes pleasant to hear, but it can never be the parent of great nature poetry, such as that of Wordsworth and Shelley. A few drops of fictive tears, shed in your Palace of Art, would make you excellently theatrical, but it can never give you a "Song of the Shirt" or a "Ballad of Reading Gaol." You may diligently cultivate, beside your warm hearth, the luxury of martial delight, but it can never give the truly rugged zest of an Iliad or the tilting joy of an Arthuriad. It is this want of genuine passion that answers

for the and pomp of Augustan poetry in England and the wife-drawn monotony of the Academicians in France. ✓

Now let us come to a more detailed study of the imagination which is perhaps the greatest creative force of the mind, and without which poetry is impossible. Imagination is that faculty of man which creates mental images of things unseen or non-existent, by a subtle combination of old experiences or of the perceptual impressions received but lately. But there is something non-purposive about the very make of this faculty, and it springs because it must out of a sheer joy in creation which man shares with his Maker and which is his first great urge. Its mode of functioning is as magical as its result is strange. One concept is made just to touch the fringe of another and in a trice the two get telescoped into a flashing third, novel, individual, distinctive—and the miracle is wrought. A drab old lump of common gold is made to coalesce in thought with the tame fleece of any dirty sheep—and the witchery is complete. The vision of the golden fleece at once starts up amidst wizard gleam of romance, and Argos float and Jasons strive and Dragons glitter in the sunlight. This disinterested joy in creation makes the bright little sport of imagination a thing of beauty which is a joy for ever. It delights in the awful and creates a Hell or a Chaos of Miltonic conception. It lends itself to the charm of the weird and we have the witches of Macbeth. It joys in the bizarre or the phantasmal, and out leaps an Ancient Mariner or the aerial dome of Kubla Khan. But ever and anon like a spider it spins beauty out of itself and creates fantastic shapes of loveliness out of its inherent self-expansive impulse. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that imagination creates a skyey castle out of the impalpable stuff of nothingness. As the mind of man marches with the march of years and the realm of knowledge grows from more to more, creative imagination seizes, as with a magic grip, the store of human acquisition, makes it its own inch by inch through a blazing process of appropriation, and thus turns

to poetic account the rich reward of ages. Science flares up into beauty, and wisdom into vision, and in the bright blend of the head and the heart the poetry of the whole man is born. Imagination grows widening on according to the logic of its own growth, acquires a lightning speed of ceaseless self-unfolding, and from the very peak of its own heights obtains a flashing glimpse of affinities among things far apart. Here it works itself out through similes and metaphors, through figures and ornaments, through hints and symbols, till at last its richest fruition is attained in the artistic presentation of the Beautiful through poetry. It is at this stage that the imagination may be looked upon as inspired—just a thought coloured by conscious artistry working side by side with unconscious inspiration. Thus imagination may be looked upon as the Alpha and Omega of the poetic art.

• Just a word about this much-talked-of inspiration. It is almost a school-boy proverb that "a poet is born, not made," and so in a sense he is. But we should forget that a poet is also an artist and that his art-sense needs a long and laborious training for the right use of the inevitable word, for a correct perception of form and music and a sensible adjustment of colours. We should not forget that the "mute inglorious Milton" must either "scorn delights and live laborious days" in order to grow into the "mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies" he was, or pass quietly into some Stoke Pogis churchyard to be pitied for his fruitless might-have-beens by some querulous elegist. Be that as it may, the clamant fact remains that labour without inspiration is like the mill without the corn and that the result is a capital sponge. So a poet is born into the world with a poetic genius which may remain hidden for some time but which is prone to assert itself under favourable conditions. Thus it is not wrong to suppose that inspiration is God-given and that every poet

"Or honey-dew hath fed  
And drunk the milk of paradise."

This inspiration then is some impalpable quality of the genius and is changed with the fire and nitre of some far faery sky. Speaking in a scientific way, we may say that inspiration is the result of an extremely subtle and delicate organisation of the mental system, of an abnormally quick susceptibility to outer and inner suggestions, of a superfine sensibility to external stimulus. It indicates a supremely sensitive plate of the mind on which the minutest changes of the objective world are recorded with the graphic fidelity of the crescograph. It shows a well-tuned æsthetic sense which the most subtle suggestions of beauty wake to ecstasy, even as the strings of the harp sing to the touch of the evening blast. Such a condition induces noble imagination which in its turn makes it all the more poignant. Thus it is largely true that imagination and inspiration in their complex blend conduce to each other's fullness and chasten and heighten each other. A mind thus constituted can have no mathematical symmetry about it and has therefore a dash of the irregular. A sort of blazing unreason makes it often outstrip the trite and touch the shining fringe of the abnormal. Thus it is that an inspired poet is often described as possessed by some fine frenzy with an eye rolling through infinite space and viewing all things at one glance. Thus it is that Shakespeare has said in a half-sportive strain that "poets, lovers and lunatics are of imagination all compact." But, like Hamlet's, there is an unconscious method in his madness, intuitively worked out through an innate impulse for organisation. This impulse is so quick and vital that like a living thing this madness develops an "architecture of its own" and works like nature herself through an instinctive process of beautiful selection and rejection. Thus in moments of *bien entre* when the genius begins to glow phoenix-like in the light of its own flame, thoughts leap into order, experiences are marshalled, a flashing system seems to be evolved, and the objective world opens the prison-gate of its mystery and yields up the archetypal spirit of beauty long concealed within it. This is the moment of

vision, *i.e.*, of the gifted seer. It was in moments like this that Shelley hymned his Intellectual Beauty and Wordsworth said,

“ The budding twigs spread out their fan  
To catch the breezy air ;  
And I must think, do all I can,  
That there *was* pleasure there.”

It was in moments like this that Shakespeare said,

“ There’s a Divinity that shapes our ends  
Roughhew them how we will.”

OR

“ There’s not the smallest orb thou beholdest  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims.”

and Tagore asked his foot-track,

“ O path of many a foot-mark ! keep not the stories of the far time  
bound up in thee silent. Whisper them unto me for my ears are on thy  
dust.” x

Thus we see that the inspired imagination makes all the knowledge and wisdom of the world a mass of plastic whole ready to be shaped into the beauty of which the highest art is made. But how does the imagination achieve this end ? The answer is that it achieves this through a spontaneous art. This brings us to the question of the artistic and spontaneous character of poetry. Art implies a ready perception of the beautiful and a conscious yet easy present action of it. ‘Beautiful,’ again, implies the highest harmony, external or internal, *i.e.*, the harmony of the things outside or of the ideas, feelings and emotions within. There may be an artistic presentation of the objective harmony by giving a symmetrical record of the external impressions and touching them up into a flashing whole with the light of imagination. But even this presupposes a fine correspondence between the subjective and the objective harmony, *i.e.*, the harmony of the impressions within



the mind must answer to the harmony of the objects outside. Let us take an example of the art as the expression of the objective harmony :—

“ I wandered lonely as a cloud  
That floats on high o’er vale and hills,  
When all at once I saw a crowd,  
A host of golden daffodils,  
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,  
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.  
  
Continuous as the stars that shine  
And twinkle in the Milky way,  
They stretched in never-ending line  
Upon the margin of the bay.  
Ten thousand saw I at a glance  
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.”

—Wordsworth.

Here we get a well-organised system of impressions corresponding to an orderly group of beautiful things—dancing flowers beside the lake like stars in the Milky way.

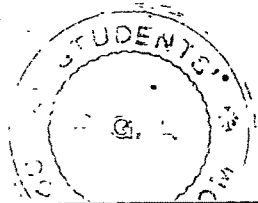
Let us now take an artistic presentation of internal harmony, *i.e.*, a beautiful presentation of some beautifully concrete ideas arising out of an abstract thought-process :—

“ Let me not to the marriage of the true minds  
admit impediments  
Love is not love which alters when it  
alteration finds  
Or bends with the remover to remove,  
O, no, it is an ever-fixed mark  
That looks on tempest and is never shaken.  
It is the star to every wandering bark  
Whose worth’s unknown though his height  
be taken  
Love’s not time’s fool though rosy lips and cheeks  
Within his bending sickle’s compass come.”

—Shakespeare’s Sonnet.

Here we have a concrete and definite expression of a well-knit system of beautiful ideas presented within the focal ring of imaginative passion. In both these cases we find on the part of the poets a delight in the beautiful. But how in both cases is the artistic effect achieved? Imagination here works upon the store of ideas and impressions in such a way as to effect some sort of *thought-consolidation* or *thought-concretion*. Now the *modus operandi* which is adopted here is to visualise the subtle thought-effects achieved and thus to make living and beautiful images out of them. This is done with the help of the inevitable words coined with the sovereign stamp of phrase-artistry in the imperial mint of art-consciousness. It needs a quick and implicit process of selection and rejection in which the eyes, the ear, and the mind are delicately co-operant. The pictures to be raised up must answer to the music of the singing words, and the whole should generate an æsthetic delight through the haunting effects of a corporate harmony. This means a sense of proportion which shows itself in the subordination of parts to the whole, in the delicate sprinkling of varied tints, in the wise adjustment of light and shade, and lastly in the even spreading of the musical effects all over the poem with metrical devices, so as to make the different parts of the verses, singing units of a contrapunctual harmony. What labour, what skill, what an awful deal of art-intuition are involved in the process! But the strangest part of the thing is that all this apparently elaborate process is wrought as in a flash more within the subconscious than within the conscious, and the complex effect that is achieved is the harmonic unity of thought, language and feeling,—matter, manner and flavour. This is spontaneity—this is the art of the highest order which lies in its own concealment. Let us give an example of this artistic fusion:—

“ Strew on her roses, roses,  
And never a spray of yew !  
In quiet she reposes ;  
Ah ! would that I did too.



Her mirth the world required ;  
 She bathed it in smiles of glee.  
 But her heart was tired, tired,  
 And now they let her be.

Her life was turning, turning,  
 In mazes of heat and sound ;  
 But for peace her soul was yearning  
 And now peace laps her round.

Her cabin'd, ample spirit,  
 It flutter'd and failed for breath ;  
 To-night it doth inherit  
 The vasty hall of death."

The only thing that now remains to be expanded so far as our definition is concerned is Rhythm. It is an error to fancy that metre is the artificial device of a poet. Aristotle says that rhythm is innate in man, and so it undoubtedly is. Our blood courses in rhythmic flow and the throbs of our heart keep regular time to the metric move of our organic life. Even the cell is a little unit of rhythm, and the breaking of the nucleus into two marks the primeval distich in the harmony of organic growth. Add to this constitutional rhythm of man the regular rocking of the cradle or the claps of mothers and nurses which cheer his childhood, and you have his whole rhythmic cast. This is but a fraction of that huge rhythm which the early atoms have obeyed and a tuneful whole has leaped out of jars. It is the same old force that sent the spheres rolling along their orbit and "from harmony, from heavenly harmony, the universal frame began." It is, in short, a portion of the first great "Word which was with God and which was God."

Thus this law of rhythm is a fundamental need of our nature and accompanies our very make. But in the case of the gifted it becomes the very medium of emotional thought. Thus rhythm is not merely a "pleasurable adjunct to poetry," but for the deeper reason we have seen above, it is a vital principle

by which poetry lives. We talk prose when we live in the dull world of facts and think of thoughts about these facts with the cool sanity of the reasoner. But when our deeps are touched by some great passion and its vital spell runs through us, the ancient dance of the inner man begins at once. Thoughts move in wavy ups and downs and the heightened words of passion flow in rhythmic form. Thus "impassioned thought runs to music and the rhythm stands as the symbol of the emotion which gave it birth." But the rhythm in its turn quickens and energises our emotion, and thus each fulfils the inner need of the other. In the ready perception, again, of great spiritual truths there is a larger and healthier rise of emotion which with its slow and steady swell moves along the intellectual line and suggests as its musical counterpart the deep rolls of a prolonged harmony. Let us take some examples:—

" My love is like a red red rose,  
That's newly sprung in June ;  
My love is like a melody,  
That's sweetly played in tune."

—Burns.

This conveys a somewhat brisk leap of personal ardour. As compared with this the following is something less personal and intense:—

" Behold her single in the field, etc."

—Wordsworth's *Solitary Reaper*.

Note again the impersonal character of the passion born in the contemplation of ideas in the following:—

" Hence in a season of calm weather  
Though inland far we be,  
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea,  
Which brought us hither, etc."

—Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality*.

Take the following example from Hamlet:—

I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all mirth foregone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o’er-hanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilential congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, in form and moving, how express and admirable in action, how like an angel, in apprehension how like a God, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me: no, nor woman neither.”

Compare again the two speeches in Julius Cæsar over the dead body of Cæsar. Brutus appeals to the intelligence of the crowd and talks prose; but Antony appeals to the passion of the crowd and talks poetry. I do not mean to suggest that prose cannot have an inner rhythm of its own, and in imaginative prose it can always be found, as a perusal of some of Tagore’s renderings will clearly show. Take again my own rendering of the opening stanza of the Heart-stream (Hridaya-Yamuna):—

“ Wilt thou fill thy jug? Come, O come, down into my heart-stream. The deep waters will splash plaintive about those fairy feet.” Solemn and rainy are the heavens to-day, and clouds like thy dark copious curls have come down on both my banks. Ah, the known music—the tingling jingle of the anklets about thy feet! Who art thou, o lonely spirit, pacing slowly on? Wilt thou fill thy jug? Down, down into the heart-stream.”

A well-known song of Chandidas can be rendered into such prose as this:—

“ E’er shall I live, O dear, shall I live, in the land of love and with love make my cot. Love alone shall be my neighbour sweet and the rest

all strangers. Love shall I make the door of my hut and love my thatch overhead. In love I'll live and lose myself for days that are and are to be. Love shall be my pallet lowly and love my watch at night. On love I'll rest my weary head with love as chum by my side. In the fount of love I'll lave myself and dye mine eyes with love ; and above my lips will gently glisten, like a tiny pendant pearl, the love of my heart. Thus love shall be my only function, the virtue of my soul ;—my work and worship—death—salvation—my birth as well as goal.” ”

Thus we see that rhythm is not an “ adjunct to poetry ”—not an extraneous device imposed upon the prose-stuff of speech in order to make it musical. But it is the cosmic need of the human mind—an aura<sup>1</sup> reflex—issuing out of its central life-principle and hinting the grand old dance of the inner man, the child of the deep, who struggles “ to sally forth into the light.” Thus it has been well said that “ Poetry, like Shakespeare's Beatrice, is born under a dancing star.”

Our examination of the definition is done and I have just been able to say a few words about the essentials I set out to indicate. Still the old question remains : What is its utility ? The answer is there in the exposition. Is not poetry, in the way in which I have examined it, the best moments of the best minds made many-tongued and musical ? Is it not “ a disinterested word—a word to the whole human race ”—given by the detached seer from whose eyes the scales have fallen off and who is brought face to face with the noumenal beauty of things ? Is not the poet the highest type of mind whose touch is the touch of life because it is the touch of truth ? We should pause and think before we give him the go-by. Through him, if we like, we may become the heirs to the rich store of wisdom left by others ; for has he not touched with his wizard wand all realms of knowledge and thought into a fairy garden of flower-songs ? He is but the scientist turned inside out, for within him there is search for truth and system. If the apple, as it drops, tells the scientist of the great law of gravitation and of the infinite longing of one atom-heart for another, the little

things of nature babble to the poet the ancient secret of the universe and he says,

“ The fountains mingle with the river;  
The river with the ocean,  
The winds of heaven mix for ever  
With a sweet emotion.”

—*Shelley.*

What can be a greater utility than the rich and full fruition of the human heart and the possession of the garnered wisdom of years? The noble and healthy delight which poetry gives purifies the native passions of man, brings them into harmony with “ Divine Reason ” and out of their rude tangles creates a quiet and sober music of mind and soul. Moreover, the individual mind of the poet, rich in the thought-harvests of the world, is identical with the universal as has been so finely said by a critic, and contact with it cures us of narrowness and makes us catholic. The highest rhythms, in the words of Plato, are the “ expressions of a courageous and harmonious life,” and they lift us up from the dull routine of every day and make us the better for the air we breathe. If all this is not utility, what is? Milton’s “ organ voice ” never sounds in vain. Shakespeare is at once the Falstaff and the Prospero to his countless readers—yet he is always the good old Shakespeare. Be sure he will never fail us though he may always remain an enigma. Let us close this conversation with those noble words of Arnold addressed to the Stratford sage,

“ Others abide our question, thou art free.”

HRISHIKESH BHATTACHARYA

## IDENTIFICATION OF 'TIKOTIKA CAKAMA'

In the 'Bhāgavat Purāṇam' of Srimat Bhāgavat, eighth book, second chapter, the following story about the difficulties of a certain king of elephants while disporting himself in a lake situated beside the "Trikuṭa Mountain," definitely establishes the identity of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' of Bhārut Stupa which has up till now baffled all efforts of scholars in this direction. The story which is very lengthy in the original is given below in parts sufficient to explain the different sections of the bas-relief for our purpose. It runs thus :—

*Part I.*—There is a beautiful mountain called 'Trikuṭa' surrounded on all sides by a sea, the waters of which consist of milk. It is ten 'koti yojanas' in height and the same in length and breadth. It has three peaks of gold, silver and iron respectively, illuminating constantly the four quarters and the waters of the surrounding sea. Its heights on the sides are also decorated with various gems and covered with numerous trees, creepers and shrubs. The melodious notes which issue out of the running rivulets on the sides of the mountain are carried by echoes far and wide up to the very extremities of the horizon. Its base is being constantly washed by the waves of the sea. The king of the mountain has given a green hue to the neighbouring earth with the splendour of corals of green colour. Inside the triangular resort dwell perpetually 'the Siddhas,' 'the Chāraṇas,' 'the Vidyādhara,' 'the Mahoragas' (great snakes), 'the Kinnaras,' 'the Apsaras' and their sweet songs of melodious tunes cause the caverns of the mountain to be ceaselessly resounded with them. Lions living outside, thinking that other lions are producing them roar in anger.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Part II.*—The great Varuṇa has a beautiful woodland bower close to its sides called 'Ritumat' which is full of evergreen



trees with flowers and fruits. Angels come and enjoy themselves in this pleasure garden where there are such trees as 'Mandāra,' 'Pārijāta,' 'Pātali,' 'Asoka,' 'Champā,' 'Paṇasa,' 'Amba,' 'Jambu,' 'Sāla,' etc., and also a beautiful lake shining with silver-lotuses together with 'Kumuda,' 'Utpala,' and 'Satapatra' adding to its beauty.

\* \* \* \*

*Part III.*—On this mountain, one day, its inhabitant, the king of elephants, while roaming with his herd of females and young ones, began (enchanted by the notes) to trample and break down all the trees, creepers and shrubs of the forest. The lions, tigers and other ferocious animals took shelter at a distance out of fear and the minor beasts such as cows, goats, etc., placing themselves under his mercy grazed fearlessly a little further away out of his reach.

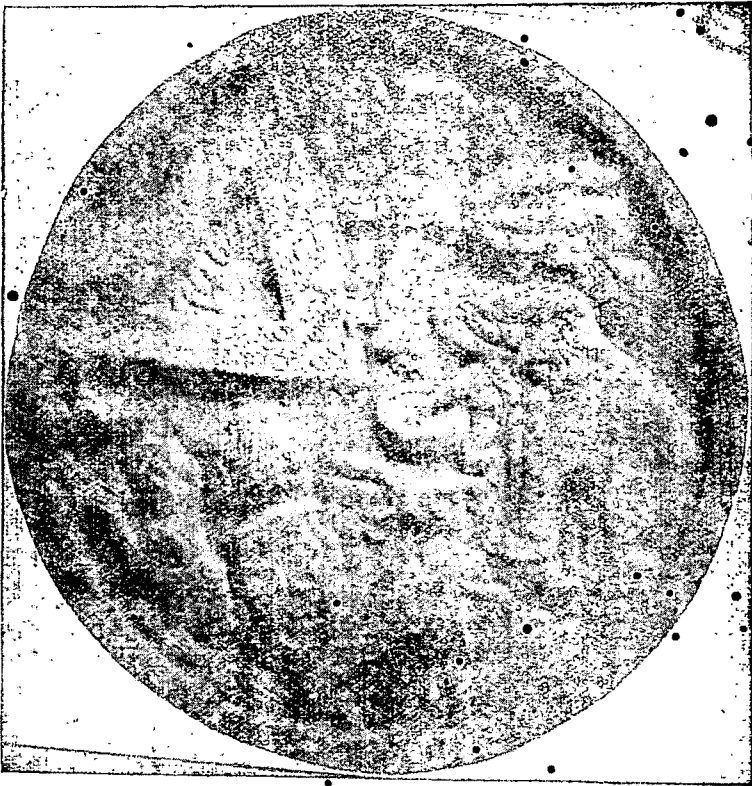
\* \* \* \*

The elephant-king after a while got exhausted due to his excitement under the scorching sun and approached the lake with his herd in fatigue and thirst. He took a dive into the cooling water fragrant with lotus-dusts and having refreshed himself comforted the herd by sprinkling on the members especially the young ones, water from the lake and made them eat the lotus-stalks. But infatuated as he was with pride, he lost all knowledge of the fearful consequences and being confounded by a magic spell cast from heaven was caught hold of by a gigantic crocodile who lived in that lake. The piteous position of the elephant-king being dragged into the water by the mighty crocodile caused the females and the youngs of the herd to wail in disappointment and the tug-of-war between the elephant and the crocodile in which none was able to get the upper hand, continued for a great length of time..

*Part IV.*—At last, the elephant-king finding no other means of rescue sought refuge with the Saviour of the time who was

Bhagavan Hari, son of Harimedha, the father, and Harini the mother, and was released.

Reading from the left to the right, the bas-relief agrees with this description even in details. The expression of the elephant-king in trouble is exquisitely dramatic as carved in the bas-relief which thus interprets "the horrors of pleasures." And to point out this moral it has been graphically put up on the Stupa for the benefit of the pious visitor.



"The presence of two trees indicates that the scene is laid in a forest or mountainous region. The triangular resort is represented by the three uniform sides of the triangular mountain bearing various auspicious marks of leaves and flowers on their ornamented surface. The dragon-chief evidently lying at

the bottom represents supernatural beings emitting sweet sounds. The two lions outside the enclosure stand facing each other, one looking towards the front, the other looking towards the back, both of them showing an attitude of alertness in making attacks, with their gaze fixed in the same direction. As regards the herd of wild elephants, the various attitudes of eating and drinking as well as those of keeping watch and guard are clearly marked. The one at the bottom who sits (?) characteristically behind one of the lions, keeping the front legs erect and the gaze fixed in the same outward direction towards the cavern, is listening to the notes coming from it. The leader of the herd stands in awe beside them, in the upper part of the medallion, watching the whole situation before his eyes. The younger elephants, among whom two bigger ones stand face to face, and the smallest one drinking water from a stone bowl are also shown.”<sup>1</sup>

In support of this identification a few observations seem to be necessary which may be stated thus :—

(a) The story of the king of elephants from Bhagavat Purāṇam found in an ancient Buddhist monument though in a different sense, need not surprise any one, especially when such a case occurs in Bhārhut where the devotional aspect of Buddhism is so much in evidence both in art and in literature. In the ‘Buddha Charita Kāvya’ of Asvaghosa who is said to have flourished in the time of Kaniska, copious examples are quoted from Bhāgavat Purāṇam in connection with the life and teachings of the Buddha. The following are among the most prominent ones :—

(1) “Svayambhuriva śāntaḥ” (Calm as Siva), (2) “Pāṇdu,” (3) “Kaurava,” (4) Purāṇdara,” (5) “Agastya,” (6) “Yayāti,” (7) “Parāçara,” (8) “Viçvāmitra,” (9) “Vaçiṣṭha,” (10) “Dhruba,” (11) “Bali,” (12) “Aṃtiḍeva,”

<sup>1</sup> The reading is mostly adopted from Dr. Barua's “Bhārut Stone as a Story-teller.”

- (13) "Videharāja Janaka," (14) "Ambariṣa," (15) "Rāma,"  
 (16) "Gautama," (17) "Ahalyā," (18) "R̥ṣyaçr̥mga,"  
 (19) "Nahusa," etc.

From these, it is evident, that the stories of the Purāṇas were pre-Buddhistic. They are well known, and even used in devotional literature by the Buddhists as late as the time of Kaniska about the beginning of the Christian era after which the desire for such reference seems to have greatly abated. Little wonder then, that the artists of Bhārhut in their zeal for propagation of the faith made use of the story about the rescue of the elephant-king to impress the new adherents of Bhagavān Sākyamuni.

In this connection, our special indebtedness is due to Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit., Professor of Pali, Calcutta University, for broadening the interpretation of the Bhārhut Jātaka which must be taken in the sense of stories connected with the life not only of the Bodhisatta but also of the Buddha. And shall we add of any Buddha past, present and future? Our learned Doctor has himself quoted parallel passages from 'Vāyupurāṇa' in support of his notes on 'Acharāḥ' of Bhārhut Stupa.

(b) The last part of the story describing the fight between the elephant and the crocodile is not clear in the bas-relief and therefore requires a little note for its acceptance. The bas-reliefs of Bhārhut, each of which as a rule dwells in the same medallion, on the different episodes of one story in different perspectives, seldom reproduce the whole story, thus leaving a considerable part of it to the imagination of the intended visitor supposed to know it in full. Without this understanding of the complete story behind them the meaning of these sculptures would be nothing and their value lost. The following Jātaka sculptures may serve as illustrations 'Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka,' 'Nāga Jātaka,' 'Isisimbiya Jātaka,' 'Yavamajhakiya Jātaka,' 'Mugapakaya Jātaka,' etc.

Therefore to say that the absence of any part of a story in the sculpture testifies to its absence in the allied contemporary literature, is not very convincing.

(c) 'Tikoṭika Cakama' which in translation becomes 'A hunting ground bounded by three sides' has, in the absence of a definite story in the background, unfortunately been taken by previous scholars in the sense of a triangular lake or a pool, which is hardly tenable. 'Caṅkama' in Pali, from the root 'kama' to walk, means a piece of land for walking (Vināya, Mahāvagga, Ch. III, § 5, para. 8) and the place for access to a river or a lake is called a 'tittha.' Hence the acceptance of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' in the sense of a triangular lake or a pool seems wide of the mark. The story which we have reproduced above accepting 'Tikoṭiko Cakamo' as the place of resort of supernatural beings such as 'Gandharvas' 'Kinnaras' 'Mahoragas,' etc., appears to hit upon the right solution.

(d) General Cunningham suggests that the inscription is attached to a representation of the Nāgaloka region of snakes and elephants which is situated under the Trikuṭa rocks supporting Mount Meru and Dr. Barua admits that 'tikoṭika' can undoubtedly be equated with 'Traikuṭa,' the 'three-peaked.'

Of course, except as a broad suggestion, the interpretation of General Cunningham is not very effective.

GOKULDAS DE

SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL, 1929<sup>1</sup>

It is anniversaries such as these which annihilate the sense of time. Who would believe that five years have passed since that day of tragic memory when the news flashed through Calcutta that Sir Asutosh was no more, and the whole city was moved as, in my knowledge of it, it never has been moved either before or since. The size of the crowds which gathered from all quarters and the sincerity of their mourning showed the depth of the affection in which Sir Asutosh was held by all classes of the community, and their appreciation of the great work he had done for Bengal. And now after five years we are gathered here in this place which is sacred to his memory, a place where, if you wish for a monument of him, you have but to look around and you will find it. We have come to do homage to his memory by garlanding his statue and to share reverentially in some degree in the freshly awakened sorrow of his nearer relations.

The work what he did can never die or disappear, and our presence here to-day testifies to its lasting value. He has won for the University a permanent place in the affection of his countrymen and has established its importance in the minds of all classes of society. In particular the care and development of the great Post-Graduate Department will be regarded as a sacred trust by all who reverence his memory.

We can never forget the colossal energy with which he devoted himself to his task—the energy of a living and vigorous personality. He was no timid conservative, neither was he a ruthless iconoclast. He valued the noble heritage of the past in order that he might develop out of it a still more glorious

<sup>1</sup> A speech delivered by the Vice-Chancellor of the University on the day of the anniversary of Sir Asutosh's death, May 25, 1929.

future. His was the energy of life, not the stillness of death. He was dynamic not static. We honour the memory of such great men not by building their tombs but by carrying forward their work and I am convinced that, had Sir Asutosh been alive to-day, he would have been our leader in devising many methods of improvement and reconstruction. For him the University was a living and a growing and expanding entity, and he would have been the last to approve of any rigid adherence to an original plan even though it were of his own construction. We do disservice to his memory if we imprison his spirit even in the palaces of his own building. He claimed freedom to advance both for himself and for others, and we can honour his memory aright only if we share in his spirit of enterprise and adventure and carry forward his work into these further developments which he himself would have desired. It has been given to few to accomplish as much as he has accomplished with far-sighted vision and never-flagging energy. May he have his reward in the inspiration which his memory has left to those who come after him, and in their resolve to seek the greatest and most lasting good of this University and of all who are connected with it.

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## SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

On May 25 last, the anniversary of Sir Asutosh's death, the usual gathering of the members of the University in its tutorial as well as ministerial side took place in the grand staircase and hall of the Darbhanga Building round the bust of the great departed. Five years ago Sir Asutosh passed away on this date, in the year 1924 ; and yet it seems hard to realise this fact. Those who had the privilege of coming in contact with him even for the shortest period while thinking of him are at times filled with a wistful hope, though for a moment, that Sir Asutosh is not dead, he is still with us, and any moment we might find him footing his way up the familiar stairs, an embodiment of energy and tireless action and indomitable courage, a veritable figure of an Atlas bearing the burden of a whole heaven on his broad shoulders. Such indeed is the impression left by a great hero of action on the minds of the people who come to know him personally and intimately : and we can understand how legends arise about such heroes, of their never being really dead but only passing out of our sight for a while, to come back and help their people at some crucial moment in the future. Events are moving fast, the times are really out of joint, and while we are being hustled on in the flood tide we have hardly any time to pause and gather up our thoughts and contemplate upon the past a little, to adjust the present for a more hopeful future. We should have some days consecrated to the memory of our great dead, days of *śrāddha* or worshipful commemoration, when we can offer up our *śrāddhā*, our reverence and gratitude, our faith in their ideals and achievements, to our great heroes of thought and action,—when we can look back for a while and contemplate upon their personalities and upon the messages they have left for us in their lives and their strivings. The anniversary of Sir Asutosh's death is



such a day for the educated men of Bengal and specially for University men who are alive to their duties and responsibilities to their people, when they should gratefully remember the services of Sir Asutosh to the cause of education in his country, and seek fresh inspiration from a reiteration of his ideals, and strive to keep fresh and green in their hearts the memory of the great man against the insidious force of time.

The university celebration of the Asutosh Anniversary has quite unconsciously developed the solemnity of a religious ceremonial. This is but only natural; and it would be so not only in a country like ours but also elsewhere, wherever there is a sense of the living presence of the dead. For a few hours, the landing hall with Sir Asutosh's marble bust becomes a sanctified place, a veritable shrine; there is a reverential hush among the celebrants; and with incense, and floral tributes round the hem of the bust, to many, among whom are orthodox Hindus as well as others, the place becomes almost like a temple, with the spirit of the departed present and watching. This year also the bust was draped with floral wreaths—pink and white lotuses, and white *gandharāja* blossoms—the king of scented flowers—and red *āsoka*, the flower of sorrowlessness. Many were in bare feet, as in a temple. This time the celebration was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Rev. Dr. Urquhart, who made a short speech warmly eulogistic of the work of the late Sir Asutosh; and on behalf of the members of the University he put floral chaplets round the neck of the bust. The Vice-Chancellor's speech has been given elsewhere. A Bengali song composed specially for the occasion was sung by a chorus of little boys, and poems in Bengali and Sanskrit were read. Then as a tribute to the memory of Sir Asutosh came a finely rendered *kathakatā*—a religious discourse in the traditional style embodying the narration of a Purāṇa story—from Babu Atulchandra Ghatak, the Superintendent of the University Press, which was quite appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion. This was followed by *saṅkīrtanas* or

singing of devotional songs to the accompaniment of music, after which the ceremonial ended.

The occasion awakens a great many thoughts, and would provoke any one who is seriously minded about the educational future of our country to a great many reflexions. But it is not necessary to enter into all that now. We are perhaps too near to Sir Asutosh to realise the value of his work properly : but we are already, many of us, feeling like Wordsworth addressing Milton, when we look at the present prospect of higher education and research in our country. For the greatest achievement of Sir Asutosh was that he enabled the best intellect of Bengal (and through that, that of the rest of India as well) to find itself,—to realise for the first time in the present age its latent powers, to accept boldly its responsibilities not only to itself and its past traditions, but also to humanity in general, and to discharge that responsibility as a member of the fraternity of civilised nations, winning the approbation of the world. It was the dream and the vision of Sir Asutosh that India should come forward and take her share with other nations in extending the bounds of human knowledge. He had faith in his own people : he called them to the task. He had faith in himself : he gave them opportunities which were never known before,—himself fighting with adverse forces, and fighting single-handed, until he had created some sort of place where the scholars he had gathered round himself could assemble and work under his protection. True, it is the Time-spirit which shapes the course of events, and wakens up the sleeping forces and tendencies or calls into being powers that never existed before. But he is the great man of the age who comes riding on the crest of the wave, and even controls and directs the incoming flood. The new spirit of Curiosity had come into Bengal; and scientific and other research was already making its advent, when Sir Asutosh welcomed it, and opened wide the doors of the University for it, and brought into existence the schools of research in Calcutta which became

the beacon-light for an intellectual reawakening in the whole of India during the first quarter of the present century, indicating the intellectual eminence of India in the modern age. For this we are grateful to him, and we make obeisance to his memory with reverence as to one who foresaw it all.

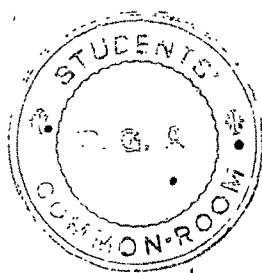
But apart from all this impersonal and national homage to his genius, we in the University should utilise the occasion particularly to think once more about the personal relationship that we had the good fortune of having with so great a man. Let us forget for a while the Bengal Tiger thundering out his measured periods in some Convocation or Senate gathering indicating the right of his people to self-determination in matters of education, or the constructive worker Sir Asutosh who called into being as if by magic the University College of Science and a whole host of other institutions. Let us think of the great leader of men, the man who could call up the best brains of the country, coming with willing hearts to serve their country under his guidance; let us think of the man Asutosh as he appeared to us—always encouraging, always affable, always sympathetic with new ideas—the patient listener, the infuser of faith and self-reliance in us, the remover of difficulties; let us remember the genial side of his character, let us recall the pleasant twinkle with which he would greet us when he found the least little success or cause for satisfaction in our work. For this intimate and personal side of his character which bound up his followers to him was not the least part of his greatness as a man: he was not great and inaccessible living apart in the ivory tower of his own eminence,—not a cold and frigid task-master who would never thaw and would be only admired and followed from a distance; but he was in many ways a man of the people, a true democrat in his hearty sympathy and love for all, and an idol of his people in his accessibility to all,—a true king of men who could be seen and talked to by all; and yet ever remained a king far above the common

run of men in his innate dignity and in the stupendousness of his powers. Of such a man we can say in the words of the Veda—

*yasya svādu sakhyam, svādvī ca pranītiḥ*

—he was one whose friendship was sweet, and sweet also was whose leadership; and in celebrating the Asutosh Anniversary, we mourn this great friend and great leader whose loss is such as can never be made good, and whose most untimely removal from our midst in the plenitude of his powers has been for us in the University both a national calamity and a personal bereavement. May the great ideals of Freedom, Courage and Action, which he held before us in his life, continue to inspire us in our life's work !

SUNITIKUMAR CHATTERJEE



## Reviews

**Shakespeare's Plays for Community Players** (Acting Editions of 'Julius Cæsar,' 'As You Like It' and 'Romeo and Juliet') by Francis Newbolt. Nelson's Classics, edited by Sir Henry Newbolt.

This is a welcome addition to Nelson's well-known series of cheap reprints. Selections have been made from three plays of Shakespeare and abundant stage-directions have been supplied to render a real help to amateur players and 'producers.' 'In each case the play has been divided into narrative passages and acting scenes. For the acting scenes the most dramatic portions of the original have been chosen.... The remainder of the original play has been cast into the form of a narrative.' To apply the scissors to Shakespeare is always a delicate task; it verges on impertinence when the incomparable poetry of Shakespeare is sacrificed to arbitrary stage-conventions. The editor is to be congratulated for refusing to truckle to 'the idols of the theatre' and dilute the pure essence of Shakespeare's poetry. Stage directions are an essential part of the substance of a drama; but, in many modern dramas, they fill as large a space as the dramatic substance. The dramatist dominates the stage and is not willing to leave anything to the imagination of the actor or the producer. Elaborate directions are given not merely for suggesting the setting or the background, but for the actual carrying on of the dramatic action, so that the actor becomes a mere automaton. This Shavian tyranny becomes to actors and producers gifted with imagination a serious handicap. In the book under review it is a relief to find that, though the claims of modern stagecraft and the exigencies of amateur production have not been lightly brushed aside, the stage-directions are unpretentious and unobtrusive, yet appropriate and helpful.

P. G.

**Tanglewood Tales** (N. Hawthorne), **Lays of Ancient Rome** (Lord Macaulay), **Weir of Hermiston** (R. L. Stevenson), **Valima Letters** (R. L. S.), **In the South Seas** (R. L. S.), **Silverado Squatters and the Amateur Emigrant** (R. L. S.), **Prince Otto** (R. L. S.), **Chronicles of the Canongate** (Scott), **The Tower of London** (H. Answorth), **The Warder** (Anthony Trollope), **The Professor** (Charlotte Bronte), and **The New Jun**